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THE PRESIDENT AT HIS DESK IN THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE

THE WORKS OF

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

ILLUSTRATED

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES AND STATE PAPERS

PART FIVE

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sores in society, while there is a chance of reforming them.

A year ago I was approached by the people interested in Colorado in their juvenile court, and they set an example which I wish could be followed all over the country, and particularly here in the District of Columbia. To the people of Colorado I expressed, as I express to you, my very earnest belief in their work, and told them that "of course so far as my very limited powers here go those powers will be at your disposal."

I think people rather often completely misapprehend what are really the important questions. The question of the tariff, the currency, or even the regulation of railroad rates, are all subordinate to the great basic moral movements which mean the preservation of the individual in his or her relations to the home; because if the homes are all straight the State will take care of itself.

TO THE BOARD OF EDUCATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND OTHERS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, DECEMBER 18, 1905

Mr. Macfarland; Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a peculiar pleasure to greet this body here to-day. As Mr. Macfarland has well said, the public-school system of our country is the most characteristically democratic and American feature of our national life. It has been my good fortune that all of my children have received, or are receiving, a portion of their education in the public schools of

this District, in this city; and I feel that the advantage to them is incalculable. I certainly do not underrate the importance of the higher education. It would be the greatest misfortune if we ever permitted such a warped and twisted view of democracy to obtain as would be implied in a denial of the advantage that comes to the whole Nation from the high education of the few who are able to take advantage of the opportunity to acquire it. But while fully admitting this, it remains true that most important of all is the education of the common school. The public schools are not merely the educational centres for the mass of our people, but they are the factories of American citizenship. Incidentally to its other work the public school does more than any other institution of any kind, sort, or description to Americanize the child of foreign-born parents who comes here when young, or is born here. Nothing else counts for as much in welding together into one compact mass of citizenship the different race stocks which here are being fused into a new nationality.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 8, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I enclose herewith the annual report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, the annual report of the Panama Railroad Company, and the Secretary of War's letter transmitting the same, together with certain papers.

The work on the Isthmus is being admirably done, and great progress has been made, especially during the last nine months. The plant is being made ready and the organization perfected. The first work to be done was the work of sanitation, the necessary preliminary to the work of actual construction; and this has been pushed forward with the utmost energy and means. In a short while I shall lay before you the recommendations of the Commission and of the Board of Consulting Engineers as to the proper plan to be adopted for the canal itself, together with my own recommendations thereon. All the work so far has been done, not only with the utmost expedition, but in the most careful and thorough manner; and what has been accomplished gives us good reason to believe that the canal will be dug in a shorter time than had been anticipated, and at an expenditure within the estimated amount. All our citizens have a right to congratulate themselves upon the high standard of efficiency and integrity which has been hitherto maintained by the representatives of the Government in doing this great work. If this high standard of efficiency and integrity can be maintained in the future at the same level which it has now reached, the construction of the Panama Canal will be one of the feats to which the people of this Republic will look back with the highest pride.

From time to time various publications have been made, and from time to time in the future various similar publications doubtless will be made, purport-

ing to give an account of jobbery, or immorality, or inefficiency, or misery, as obtaining on the Isthmus. I have carefully examined into each of these accusations which seemed worthy of attention. In every instance the accusations have proved to be without foundation in any shape or form. They spring from several sources. Sometimes they take the shape of statements by irresponsible investigators of a sensational habit of mind, incapable of observing or repeating with accuracy what they see, and desirous of obtaining notoriety by widespread slander. More often they originate with, or are given currency by, individuals with a personal grievance. The sensation-mongers, both those who stay at home and those who visit the Isthmus, may ground their accusations on false statements by some engineer, who, having applied for service on the Commission and been refused such service, now endeavors to discredit his successful competitors; or by some lessee or owner of real estate who has sought action or inaction by the Commission to increase the value of his lots, and is bitter because the Commission can not be used for such purposes; or on the tales of disappointed bidders for contracts; or of office-holders who have proved incompetent, or who have been suspected of corruption and dismissed, or who have been overcome by panic and have fled from the Isthmus. Every specific charge relating to jobbery, to immorality, or to inefficiency, from whatever source it has come, has been immediately investigated, and in no single

instance have the statements of these sensation-mongers and the interested complainants behind them proved true. The only discredit inhering in these false accusations is to those who originate and give them currency, and who, to the extent of their abilities, thereby hamper and obstruct the completion of the great work in which both the honor and the interest of America are so deeply involved. It matters not whether those guilty of these false accusations utter them in mere wanton recklessness and folly or in a spirit of sinister malice to gratify some personal or political grudge.

Any attempt to cut down the salaries of the officials of the Isthmian Commission, or of their subordinates who are doing important work, would be ruinous from the standpoint of accomplishing the work effectively. To quote the words of one of the best observers on the Isthmus: "Demoralization of the service is certain if the reward for successful endeavor is a reduction of pay." We are undertaking in Panama a gigantic task—the largest piece of engineering ever done. The employment of the men engaged thereon is only temporary, and yet it will require the highest order of ability if it is to be done economically, honestly, and efficiently. To attempt to secure men to do this work on insufficient salaries would amount to putting a premium upon inefficiency and corruption. Men fit for the work will not undertake it unless they are well paid. In the end the men who do undertake it will be left to seek other employment with as their chief re-

ward the reputations they achieve. Their work is infinitely more difficult than any private work, both because of the peculiar conditions of the tropical land in which it is laid, and because it is impossible to free them from the peculiar limitations inseparably connected with Government employment; while it is unfortunately true that men engaged on public work, no matter how devoted and disinterested their services, must expect to be made the objects of misrepresentation and attack. At best, therefore, the positions are not attractive in proportion to their importance; and among the men fit to do the task, only those with a genuine sense of public spirit and eager to do the great work for the work's sake, can be obtained; and such men can not be kept if they are to be treated with niggardliness and parsimony, in addition to the certainty that false accusations will continually be brought against them.

I repeat that the work on the Isthmus has been done and is being done admirably. The organization is good. The mistakes are extraordinarily few, and these few have been of practically no consequence. The zeal, intelligence, and efficient public service of the Isthmian Commission and its subordinates have been noteworthy. I court the fullest, most exhaustive, and most searching investigation of any act of theirs, and if any one of them is ever shown to have done wrong his punishment shall be exemplary. But I ask that they be decently paid, and that their hands be upheld as long as they act

decently. On any other conditions we shall not be able to get men of the right type to do the work; and this means that on any other conditions we shall ensure, if not failure, at least delay, scandal, and inefficiency in the task of digging the giant canal.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 10, 1906

Gentlemen:

I want to say just a word of greeting to you and to ask your influence on behalf of the medical corps, not only of the Army, but of the Navy. There is not a more exacting profession; there is not a profession which makes greater demands upon those following it, and which more entitles them to the gratitude of mankind, than is the profession which is yours. The Army surgeon has to combine the work of your profession with the work of the military man of the line. In saying that, I want to call your attention to two specific things; one thing that is now being done by men of your profession and one need of men of your profession.

First, the thing that is being done: All the United States is the debtor to the medical men who have accomplished such remarkable work on the Isthmus of Panama. You hear very loose talk about making the dirt fly in Panama. Before making the dirt fly it was necessary to get the microbes under; it was necessary to grapple with the mos-

quitoes; necessary to eradicate disease. That has been done to perfection. We have had the foundation laid for that wonderful piece of constructive engineering work, to dig the giant canal. Too much praise can not be given to those who have done this work in Panama. So much for tribute to your compeers. Now as to the need of your compeers. You recollect the complaint made about hygienic conditions during the war with Spain. Complaint was made that the troops were not properly treated, etc. The blame rested, not on any one man then in office, but upon our people as a whole who had declined, through their representatives, to make provision long in advance for meeting such a need. If we had a war break out to-morrow and had to raise any large army, there would be an immediate breakdown in the medical department simply because at present our medical corps is numerically only fit to take care of about forty per cent of the Regular Army as it is now. The medical corps is not numerically fit to grapple with a campaign in which our whole Army as it is, the little Army as it is, should be employed. And of course if we had to mobilize an army of volunteers we would under present conditions have to count upon widespread disaster through the shortcomings in the medical and sanitary and hygienic arrangements rendered inevitable by our present lack of preparation.

The Japanese have given us a good lesson in this as in many other particulars, by the way they

handled their army in the recent war. One of the reasons why their medical department did well—the main reason—was the fact that they had an ample supply of doctors who had been practiced in time of peace in doing the duties they would have to do in war. And until we have provision for an ample corps of doctors in the Army so that they can be practiced in time of peace we will not have prepared as we ought to prepare for the possibilities of war. Until we thus prepare we can make up our minds that we are ourselves responsible for any disaster that occurs to any army that the United States may raise in the future; not the man who may be at the head of the Army at the time. The tendency is to attack the men in office at the time. That is utterly unjust, and the people themselves, and the representatives of the people in public life, who have failed to provide the necessary means in advance—they are responsible when disaster comes. That applies to the medical department, and it applies to every other branch of the military establishment just as much.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE INTERSTATE NATIONAL GUARD ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 22, 1906

Senator Dick; Members of the Association:

I trust it is hardly necessary for me to say what a genuine pleasure it is to me to-day to greet this organization. I have been a member of the National

Guard myself, and both at the time when I was Governor (as the present Assistant Secretary of War can say) and since I have been President, and even when I was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, I have always done all that in me lay to further the interests of the National Guard.

I have a good many things on hand, but one of the things that are interesting me most at present, Senator Dick, is the encouragement of rifle practice in the National Guard. I want to have it understood, gentlemen, that I do not care anything like as much for how your regiments march and perform parade-ground and armory maneuvres as I care for how they are instructed in the work that would make them valuable as soldiers in time of war. I earnestly hope that the National Guard, and, Mr. Taft, the Regular Army also, especially the Regular Army, will more and more have the kind of instruction that will make it second nature for the man who marches to march fully equipped as he would be in time of war. If he is trained to march that way he will not throw away his equipment the first time he goes to war; otherwise he will do it. I want to see the average National Guardsman know how to shoot well. I want to see the fund that we have for rifle practice distributed among the several State organizations, partly at least with reference to the way in which those State organizations promote marksmanship. I want to see the young fellow who has been through the National Guard receive a training which will

make him able to do his work in time of war if the need comes.

In a great industrial civilization such as ours we may just as well face the fact that there is a constant tendency to do away with, to eliminate, those qualities which make a man a good soldier. It should be the steady object of every legislator, of every executive officer, and above all of you gentlemen who have to do with the National Guard, to try to encourage those qualities, to try to counteract the tendency toward their elimination. Every officer of the National Guard should train his men the whole time as if he were training them with a view to possible action, so that the men under him will be trained by him to have those habits of body and mind which will render them formidable as soldiers in the field. You should try to train your men so they can live in the open; train them so they will know what cover is, so they will be able to take advantage of it, so they will know how to march and march well; and you should realize the relative importance of what it is that the men under you learn, that as war is carried on nowadays, ninety per cent of the ordinary work done either on the parade-ground or in the armory, either by a militia regiment or a regular regiment, amounts to nothing whatever in the way of training except so far as the incidental effect it has in accustoming the men to act together and to obey; but they are not going to fight shoulder to shoulder when they get out into the field. It is absolutely not of the slightest

consequence what their alignment is, but is of vital consequence that they shall know how to take cover, how to shoot, and how to make themselves at home under any circumstances.

We have such a small regular army that you men of the National Guard have upon you a heavy responsibility. I want to say that while it is incumbent upon you to take your duties seriously and do them with all your heart, if you do even that you do more good to the Nation than any equal body of citizens to be found in our country.

TO THE STUDENTS OF THE MANASSAS, VIRGINIA, INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, FEBRUARY 14, 1906

Mr. Hale; Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a peculiar pleasure to me to greet you today; and no body of our fellow-citizens can have a greater claim to being received at the White House than a body like this, which stands for the fundamental duty of American citizenship—the duty of self-education. I am, of course, as we all must be, peculiarly interested in the kind of development of which, I am glad to say, I think we can accept this school as typical—not as exceptional, but as typical. There are a great many very, very excellent charitable people in the country, but some of them tend to forget at times that the only charity that does permanent good is that kind of charity that is not a charity at all, that teaches some one how to help himself or herself. The only way in

which any section of our citizens, of no matter what color, can be permanently benefited is by teaching them to pull their own weight, to do their own duty, their duty to themselves, their duty to their neighbors, their duty to the State at large. I have felt about the schools of which this is a type as I feel, for instance, about Mr. Washington's school at Tuskegee, that one of the reasons they are so good is that they can serve as an example of schools of which we should try to develop as many as we can for the white people as well as for the colored people. The white man needs just as much as the colored man to learn that for the average man the education that fits him to do work in life is industrial. Other things shall be added to it, or ought to be added to it, but that must remain as the basis.

Of course, Miss Dean, the good that comes with any such school as this is increased tenfold when the school is founded, as you founded this, and as Mr. Washington founded Tuskegee, by a colored man or colored woman to help the colored boys and colored girls of to-day to make the best type of self-respecting, self-supporting American citizens of the future. I esteem it an honor to welcome you here this afternoon, and it is a very fitting thing that you should be introduced by the American citizen whom every good American delights to honor—Rev. Edward Everett Hale.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 19, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I submit herewith the letter of the Secretary of War transmitting the report of the Board of Consulting Engineers on the Panama Canal, and the report of the Isthmian Canal Commission thereon, together with a letter written to the Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission by Chief Engineer Stevens. Both the Board of Consulting Engineers and the Canal Commission divide in their report. The majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers, eight in number, including the five foreign engineers, favor a sea-level canal; and one member of the Canal Commission, Admiral Endicott, takes the same view. Five of the eight American members of the Board of Consulting Engineers and five members of the Isthmian Canal Commission favor the lock canal, and so does Chief Engineer Stevens. The Secretary of War recommends a lock canal pursuant to the recommendation of the minority of the Board of Consulting Engineers and of the majority of the Canal Commission. After careful study of the papers submitted and full and exhaustive consideration of the whole subject, I concur in this recommendation.

It will be noticed that the American engineers on the consulting board and on the commission by a more than two to one majority favor the lock canal, whereas the foreign engineers are a unit against it.

I think this is partly to be explained by the fact that the great traffic canal of the Old World is the Suez Canal, a sea-level canal, whereas the great traffic canal of the New World is the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, a lock canal. Although the latter, the Soo, is closed to navigation during the winter months, it carries annually three times the traffic of the Suez Canal. In my judgment the very able argument of the majority of the Board of Consulting Engineers is vitiated by their failure to pay proper heed to the lessons taught by the construction and operation of the Soo Canal. It must be borne in mind, as the Commission points out, that there is no question of building what has been picturesquely termed "the Straits of Panama"; that is, a waterway through which the largest vessels could go with safety at uninterrupted high speed. Both the sea-level canal and the proposed lock canal would be too narrow and shallow to be called with any truthfulness a strait, or to have any of the properties of a wide, deep water strip. Both of them would be canals, pure and simple. Each type has certain disadvantages and certain advantages. But in my judgment the disadvantages are fewer and the advantages very much greater in the case of a lock canal substantially as proposed in the papers forwarded herewith; and I call especial attention to the fact that the Chief Engineer, who will be mainly responsible for the success of this mighty engineering feat, and who has therefore a peculiar personal interest in judging aright, is emphatically

and earnestly in favor of the lock-canal project and against the sea-level project.

A careful study of the reports seems to establish a strong probability that the following are the facts: The sea-level canal would be slightly less exposed to damage in the event of war; the running expenses, apart from the heavy cost of interest on the amount employed to build it, would be less; and for small ships the time of transit would probably be less. On the other hand, the lock canal at a level of eighty feet or thereabout would not cost much more than half as much to build and could be built in about half the time, while there would be very much less risk connected with building it, and for large ships the transit would be quicker; while, taking into account the interest on the amount saved in building, the actual cost of maintenance would be less. After being built it would be easier to enlarge the lock canal than the sea-level canal. Moreover, what has been actually demonstrated in making and operating the great lock canal, the Soo, a more important artery of traffic than the great sea-level canal, the Suez, goes to support the opinion of the minority of the Consulting Board of Engineers and of the majority of the Isthmian Canal Commission as to the superior safety, feasibility, and desirability of building a lock canal at Panama.

The law now on our statute books seems to contemplate a lock canal. In my judgment a lock canal as herein recommended is advisable. If the Con-

gress directs that a sea-level canal be constructed its direction will of course be carried out. Otherwise the canal will be built on substantially the plan for a lock canal outlined in the accompanying papers, such changes being made of course as may be found actually necessary; including possibly the change recommended by the Secretary of War as to the site of the dam on the Pacific side.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MARCH 5, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

Our coast defences as they existed in 1860 were not surpassed in efficiency by those of any country, but within a few years the introduction of rifled cannon and armor in the navies of the world, against which the smoothbore guns were practically useless, rendered them obsolete. For many years no attempt was made to remedy the deficiencies of these seacoast fortifications. There was no establishment in the country equipped for the manufacture of high-power rifled guns; there was no definite adopted policy of coast defence, and Congress was reluctant to undertake a work the cost of which could not be stated even approximately and the details of which had not advanced, so far as could be ascertained, beyond the experimental stages.

The Act of March 3, 1883, was the first decisive step taken to secure suitable and adequate ordnance for military purposes. Under the provisions

of this act a joint board of officers of the Army and Navy was appointed "for the purpose of examining and reporting to Congress which of the navy-yards or arsenals owned by the Government has the best location and is best adapted for the establishment of a Government foundry, or what other method, if any, should be adopted for the manufacture of heavy ordnance adapted to modern warfare for the use of the Army and Navy of the United States." This board, known as the "Gun Foundry Board," made its report in 1884 and directed public attention not only to the defenceless condition of our coasts, but to the importance and necessity of formulating a comprehensive scheme for the protection of our harbors and coast cities.

As a result, the Act of Congress approved March 3, 1885, provided that "the President of the United States shall appoint a board . . . which board shall examine and report at what ports fortifications or other defences are most urgently required, the character and kind of defences best adapted to each with reference to armament, the utilization of torpedoes, mines, and other defensive appliances."

The board, organized under the foregoing provision of law, popularly known as the "Endicott Board," in its report of January 23, 1886, cited the principles on which any system of coast defence should be based, and clearly stated the necessity of having our important strategic and commercial centres made secure against naval attack. In determining the ports that were in urgent need of de-

fence, since a fleet did not exist for the protection of the merchant marine, fortifications were provided at every harbor of importance along the coast and at several of the lake ports. For any particular harbor or locality the report specifies the armament considered necessary for proper protection, the character of emplacements to be used, the number of submarine mines and torpedo boats, with detailed estimates of cost for these various items. The proposed guns, mounts, and emplacements were of types that seemed at that time best suited to accomplish the desired results, based on the only data available, namely, experiments and information of similar work from abroad.

After the report was made part of the public records, the development and adoption of a suitable disappearing gun carriage caused the substitution of open emplacements for the expensive turrets and armored casements, materially reducing the cost of installing the armament. The great advances in ordnance, increasing the power and range of the later guns, caused a diminution in the number and calibre of the pieces to be mounted, and this fact, combined with advances in the science of engineering, rendered unnecessary the construction of the expensive "floating batteries" designed by the Endicott Board for mounting guns to give sufficient fire for the defence of wide channels or for harbors where suitable foundations could not be secured on land. Furthermore, keeping pace with the gradual development and improvement in the engines and imple-

ments of war, fortified harbors are equipped with rapid-fire guns, and, to a certain extent, with power plants, searchlights, and a system of fire control and direction, now essential adjuncts of a complete system of defence, though not so considered by that board.

While the details of the scheme of defence recommended by the Endicott Board have been departed from, in making provision for later developments of war material, the great value of its report lies in the fact that it sets forth a definite and intelligible plan or policy upon which the very important work of coast defence should proceed, and which is as applicable to-day as when formulated.

The greater effective ranges possible with the later rifled cannon, the necessity of thoroughly covering with gun fire all available waters of approach, and the growth of seacoast towns beyond the limits of some of the military reservations, have combined to move defensive works more to the front, and many of the gun positions now occupied have been obtained from private ownership. The cost of such sites has been a large item in the present cost of fortifications, and this purchase of land was not included in its estimates by the Endicott Board.

An examination of the report also discloses the fact that no estimates were submitted covering a supply of ammunition to be kept in reserve for the services of the guns that were recommended, due, perhaps, to the fact that a satisfactory powder to

give the energy desired and a suitable projectile to accomplish the desired destruction of armor were still in experimental stages. These questions, however, are no longer in doubt, and Congress already has made provision for some of the ammunition needed.

The omissions in the estimates of the Endicott Board and the changes in the details of its plans have caused doubts in the minds of many as to the money that will be needed to defend completely our coasts by guns, mines, and their adjuncts. New localities are pressing their claims for defence. The insular possessions can not be held unless the principal ports, naval bases, and coaling stations are fortified before the outbreak of war. These considerations have led me to appoint a joint board of officers of the Army and Navy "to recommend the armament, fixed and floating, mobile torpedoes, submarine mines, and all other defensive appliances that may be necessary to complete the harbor defence with the most economical and advantageous expenditures of money." The board was further instructed "to extend its examinations so as to include estimates and recommendations relative to defences of the insular possessions," and to "recommend the order in which the proposed defence shall be completed, so that all the elements of harbor defence may be properly and effectively co-ordinated."

The board has completed its labors, and its report, together with a letter of transmittal by the

Secretary of War, is herewith transmitted for the information of the Congress. It is to be noted that the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, not heretofore recommended or authorized by Congress, is added to the list of ports in the United States to be defended, with the important reasons therefor clearly stated; that the gun defence proper is well advanced toward completion, and that the greater part of the estimate is for new work of gun defence, for the accessories now so necessary for efficiency, and for an allowance of ammunition which, added to that already on hand, will give the minimum supply that should be kept in reserve to successfully meet any sudden attack. The letter of the Secretary of War contains a comparison of the estimates of the Endicott Board, with the amounts already appropriated for the present defence and the estimates of the new board, from which it appears that a completed defence of our coast, omitting cost of ammunition and sites, can be accomplished for less than the amount estimated by the Endicott Board, even including the additional localities not recommended by it.

In the insular possessions the great naval bases at Guantanamo, Subig Bay, and Pearl Harbor, the coaling stations at Guam and San Juan, require protection, and, in addition, defences are recommended for Manila Bay and Honolulu, because of the strategic importance of these localities. In the letter of the Secretary of War will be found the sums already appropriated for defences at some of

these ports or harbors, and the estimates are for the completion of an adequate defence at each locality.

Defences are recommended for the entrances to the Panama Canal as contemplated by the Act of June 28, 1902 (Spooner Act), and under the terms of this act the cost of such fortifications would probably be paid from appropriations for the construction and defence of the canal.

The necessity for a complete and adequate system of coast defence is greater to-day than twenty years ago, for the increased wealth of the country offers more tempting inducements to attack and a hostile fleet can reach our coast in a much shorter period of time. The fact that we now have a navy does not in any wise diminish the importance of coast defences; on the contrary, that fact emphasizes their value and the necessity for their construction. It is an accepted naval maxim that a navy can be used to strategic advantage only when acting on the offensive, and it can be free to so operate only after our coast defence is reasonably secure and so recognized by the country. It was due to the securely defended condition of the Japanese ports that the Japanese fleet was free to seek out and watch its proper objective—the Russian fleet—without fear of interruption or recall to guard its home ports against raids by the Vladivostok squadron. This one of the most valuable lessons of the late war in the East is worthy of serious consideration by our country, with its extensive coast line, its many im-

portant harbors, and its many wealthy manufacturing coast cities.

The security and protection of our interests require the completion of the defences of our coast, and the accompanying plan merits and should receive the generous support of the Congress.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MARCH 7, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I have signed the joint resolution "instructing the Interstate Commerce Commission to make examinations into the subject of railroad discriminations and monopolies in coal and oil, and report on the same from time to time." I have signed it with hesitation because in the form in which it was passed it achieves very little and may achieve nothing; and it is highly undesirable that a resolution of this kind shall become law in such form as to give the impression of insincerity; that is, of pretending to do something which really is not done. But after much hesitation I concluded to sign the resolution because its defects can be remedied by legislation which I hereby ask for; and it must be understood that unless this subsequent legislation is granted the present resolution must be mainly, and may be entirely, inoperative.

Before specifying what this legislation is, I wish to call attention to one or two preliminary facts. In the first place, a part of the investigation requested by the House of Representatives in the

resolution adopted Feburary 15, 1905, relating to the oil industry, and a further part having to do with the anthracite coal industry, has been for some time under investigation by the Department of Commerce and Labor. These investigations, I am informed, are approaching completion, and before Congress adjourns I shall submit to you the preliminary reports of these investigations. Until these reports are completed the Interstate Commerce Commission could not endeavor to carry out so much of the resolution of Congress as refers to the ground thus already covered without running the risk of seeing the two investigations conflict, and therefore render each other more or less nugatory. In the second place, I call your attention to the fact that if an investigation of the nature proposed in this joint resolution is thoroughly and effectively conducted, it will result in giving immunity from criminal prosecution to all persons who are called, sworn and constrained by compulsory process of law to testify as witnesses; though of course such immunity from prosecution is not given to those from whom statements or information, merely, in contradistinction to sworn testimony, is obtained. This is not at all to say that such investigations should not be undertaken. Publicity can by itself often accomplish extraordinary results for good; and the court of public judgment may secure such results where the courts of law are powerless. There are many cases where an investigation securing complete publicity about abuses and giving

Congress the material on which to proceed in the enactment of laws, is more useful than a criminal prosecution can possibly be. But it should not be provided for by law without a clear understanding that it may be an alternative instead of an additional remedy; that is, that to carry on the investigation may serve as a bar to the successful prosecution of the offences disclosed. The official body directed by Congress to make the investigation must, of course, carry out its direction, and therefore the direction should not be given without full appreciation of what it means.

But the direction contained in the joint resolution which I have signed will remain almost inoperative unless money is provided to carry out the investigations in question, and unless the Commission in carrying them out is authorized to administer oaths and compel the attendance of witnesses. As the resolution now is, the Commission, which is very busy with its legitimate work and which has no extra money at its disposal, would be able to make the investigation only in the most partial and unsatisfactory manner; and moreover it is questionable whether it could, under this resolution, administer oaths at all or compel the attendance of witnesses. If this power were disputed by the parties investigated, the investigation would be held up for a year or two until the courts passed upon it, in which case, during the period of waiting, the Commission could only investigate to the extent and in the manner already provided under

its organic law; so that the passage of the resolution would have achieved no good result whatever.

I accordingly recommend to Congress the serious consideration of just what they wish the Commission to do, and how far they wish it to go, having in view the possible incompatibility of conducting an investigation like this and of also proceeding criminally in a court of law; and furthermore, that a sufficient sum, say fifty thousand dollars, be at once added to the current appropriation for the Commission so as to enable them to do the work indicated in a thorough and complete manner; while at the same time the power is explicitly conferred upon them to administer oaths and compel the attendance of witnesses in making the investigation in question, which covers work quite apart from their usual duties. It seems unwise to require an investigation by a commission and then not to furnish either the full legal power or the money, both of which are necessary to render the investigation effective.

TO THE CONSULAR REFORM ASSOCIATION, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MARCH 14, 1906

Gentlemen:

I need hardly say that our one chance for getting the consular service put upon a really effective basis lies with just such organizations as this.

We in Washington must rely upon you to make our people, who are pre-eminently a business people

—I do not think that is by any means all they either are or ought to be, but I think they must have and ought to have a very strong business side to them —appreciate that the consular service should be in its essence a part of the general scheme of business development of the country. Of course my own view is that that applies to all the affairs of the State Department, and under both Mr. Hay and Mr. Root that Department has been managed and is being managed with an eye single to the good of the country as a whole. I have not, I am sorry to say, been able to persuade people thus to look upon even such a question as the Santo Domingo Treaty, which is a purely non-partisan measure; for if it was treated as it should be, purely on its merits, there would not be one shadow of opposition to or criticism of it. But while we have not yet been successful in getting the work of the Department looked upon quite in the non-partisan spirit that should be our national attitude in foreign affairs, and have not been successful in getting the consular service made by law what we strive to have it made —an absolutely non-partisan service—still we have made a certain amount of progress, and with the help of you and those like you, we shall be able to make a great deal more progress. One point let me dwell upon. You can not expect to get permanently good service when that service is unattractive and ill-paid. We have had a great deal of difficulty with our consular service in China. It came partly because men were appointed for political

reasons, with scant regard to their qualifications, partly because men found themselves in remote Eastern ports where there was not much that made life attractive, where there was very little supervision over them, and yet great temptation. Gentlemen, we all know that under such conditions it is necessarily difficult to secure honest and efficient service. We made a pretty thorough clean-up there. But we can not keep the service as high as it should be kept unless we have adequate salaries. There must be a better monetary provision for our consuls. I think that some such scheme as that so admirably advocated by Mr. Loomis, whose experience peculiarly fits him to speak on the subject, of charging a graded fee for invoices would furnish a solution. But in any event, in some way or other, we should provide for better salaries for the consuls, for better facilities for doing their work. Remember that the dearest kind of public servant is a servant who is paid so cheaply that he must render cheap service. Also, I feel most strongly that in the consular service, which stands entirely apart from the diplomatic service proper, entrance should be made by law into the lower grades and that the higher grades should be filled by a gradual process of weeding out and promotion; remembering, gentlemen, that the weeding-out process must not be interfered with. It is not any too easy, at best, to get rid of a kindly-natured elderly incompetent, and if you add to the difficulty by law, he then stays permanently. Make the entrance to the

service as far as possible non-partisan and make it at the lower grades, so that desirable positions shall come to those who have rendered good and faithful service in the lower grades, so that those entering the lower grades shall feel that if they do well they have a long and worthy career ahead of them.

TO THE COMMITTEE AND ASSISTANT COMMITTEES ON DEPARTMENT METHODS, AT THE RESIDENCE OF MR. PINCHOT, WASHINGTON, MARCH 20, 1906

Gentlemen:

I wish to express my very great appreciation of the work that you are doing. It would be a good thing for certain critics of our Government to realize the amount of hard, disinterested work for the Government represented by this gathering to which I am now speaking—a work which must in the immense majority of cases be its own reward, and therefore an ample reward; for there is nothing pleasanter than the consciousness of having done well a bit of work well worth doing.

A year ago I appointed the Keep Commission, because I had become convinced that the business methods of our Government were by no means abreast of the times. While I think there is comparatively little corruption in the National Governmental service, and while that little I intend to cut out or have cut out through other agencies than yours, it yet remains true that there is a good deal of duplication of work, a good deal of clumsiness

of work, and above all, the inevitable tendency toward mere bureaucratic methods against which every Government official should be perpetually on his guard—the tendency to regard not the case, but the papers in the case, as the all-important matter with which to deal, and to feel a proud sense of duty performed if all those papers are appropriately docketed and referred and minutes made about them, and then referred back, without regard to what has become of the real fact at issue.

As you are aware, the Keep Commission sent out questions to those responsible for the actual work in all branches of the Government service. Answers were received, or are now being received, to those questions, and they furnish a useful aid to the study by the commission of Governmental conditions. But inevitably in the great majority of cases these answers are inadequate to form a basis for definite recommendations, and of course that is what I want from this commission. I do not want a diagnosis of the case; I want a recommendation how to reach the case. I do not want merely to know that things are bad; I want to know what is bad and what is to be done to make it better, so that if legislation is necessary I can recommend it, or if, as I hope will be true in the enormous majority of cases, the matter can be reached by executive regulation, I can see that that regulation is issued. I want to say right here, gentlemen, that I shall value the reports that I receive largely in proportion as they do not call for legislation. There

is nothing easier, as all of you know, than to draw up an elaborate minute to show how well things would go on if some one else did something different. I want you, so far as is possible, to recommend something that I can do, something that the heads of the departments can do, so that we can ourselves put a stop to much at least of the evil that exists, remedy much at least of the shortcomings that exist.

With this in view, a number of assistant committees were appointed, consisting of you gentlemen here, carefully chosen men from the Government service, who are already largely responsible for the efficiency of the work done in your several departments and bureaus. It was a compliment to choose you, gentlemen; though it is one of those compliments that take the form of imposition of additional labor. If you were not of the type that I know you to be it would not be a compliment that would be appreciated. These committees, you gentlemen, have been at work for about a month, and you are taking up your work within your specific fields through study of the data already collected by the Committee on Department Methods, through bringing before you men whose knowledge is of expert value, and above all by a thorough study on the ground by experts (for that is what you are) of the conditions and needs within the departments themselves. I shall not enumerate the different committees. They are now at work. You compose them, gentlemen, and all told they have a membership of about seventy individuals.

As I have said, your particular effectiveness lies in the fact that you are dealing at first hand with work with which you are thoroughly familiar. You are not outsiders. You are not engaged in constructing a parlor theory of how the work should be done; you are engaged in recommendations to better the business which you are yourselves to carry through and see made better when those recommendations have been adopted. You have literally an unparalleled opportunity for useful work. As far as I am aware, there has never before been made in this country, or indeed, in any country, such a comprehensive systematic effort to put the country's housekeeping in order. I need not say to you that it is urgent. A great deal of our Government work has become proverbial for the red tape involved. Of course much of the outside criticism upon red tape is due to forgetfulness of the fact that you and I are responsible to Congress for every dollar we spend, and for every dollar's worth of work that we do, while the outsider is responsible only to himself or those interested with him, so that we not only have to do what is right and efficient, but have to be able to show that what we have done is right and efficient; and this inevitably means that there must be certain forms observed which the unthinking outsider is apt to stigmatize as red tape. Nevertheless it is true that there is always a tendency in Government work to run to needless red tape. I asked the Keep Commission, for instance, to take up with particular care, through

the Assistant Secretaries of War and the Navy, the burden of paper work resting on the officers of the Army and Navy. I remember very well the pride with which a certain high officer in one of the bureaus in the Navy Department, a good many years ago, told me, pointing to a big case of papers, that in that he could find out through the reports of the officers of each battleship how many bottles of violet ink each captain of a battleship was responsible for. I remarked that I did not care a snap of my finger about the number of bottles of violet ink on the ship, that what I wanted to know was whether the men at the guns could shoot; I did not accept the knowledge of the whereabouts of the violet ink as a substitute for shooting. The paper work must be subordinated in the departments and bureaus to the efficiency of the work itself, keeping only enough of it to make a record of what is done.

Of course it is impossible to set any actual time limit to the work you are doing, but it would be a mighty good thing to inaugurate the next fiscal year by adopting the new policies and methods in the departmental business. I want to assure you of one thing, and that is that your mere appointment has already produced a very marked moral effect. The good results of seventy men studying local methods and local needs on the ground, in the departments, does not lie only in the knowledge gained; you render a great service by making the men with whom you come in contact feel that they actually share in this movement.

The most magnificent architecture that our race has ever been able to produce—the great Gothic cathedrals of the Middle Ages—were made, not by any known architect, not even by any number of architects whose names have ever been recorded. We do not know the name of an architect or builder connected with those great masterpieces. Each was made by a number of men, architects and builders, each of whom felt amply rewarded by the mere fact that he was able to put all the best that there was in him into his work. He did not care to have his name known, he did not desire to be immortalized in connection with the work; he cared only to make the work itself the best that it could possibly be made. There never was an army that amounted to anything in campaign or in battle unless the average soldier had in him the spirit which made him regard the winning of the campaign, the winning of the battle, as in itself the end, and his service, if good enough, as in itself the reward. He might wish other rewards if they happened to come; but if they did not, well and good. The doing the duty is of itself a sufficient reward for any man.

So it has to be if the work of the Government is to be really well done. As Ruskin has said, there are two ways of doing work; to work for the fee, for the payment, and to work for the work's own sake. The work done simply to get money for having done it will never, under any circumstances, rank with the work done by the man whose sense of self-respect, whose capacity for loyalty to an

ideal, makes him discontented unless the work that is at his hand is done with all the skill that heart and hand and brain can bring to it.

Of course, gentlemen, when you come to make your recommendations, you will have to deal with broad principles for the conduct of the Government business; but those broad principles must be supported by definite plans ready to be given immediate effect. I believe in broad principles, but I do not want them so broad that they will not apply to any given case. I want a general scheme, but also a way to make that general scheme effective in each department, each bureau, each section and subdivision touched by your committee. I do not want you in any case to recommend a change simply for the sake of making a change; nothing could be more foolish. But never hesitate for a moment in basing your recommendations upon the conditions actually found and the best way to meet them, no matter how radical may be the departure from established methods required. As I have said before, remember that in the vastly larger number of cases the essential need will not be for new legislation, but for better organization and improved methods under existing law. Now and then you will find where there must be a change in law, but the essential thing will be to change methods so that we can better administer the existing law.

There is, however, one fundamental weakness in the Government service which can not be remedied without additional legislation. That weakness lies

in the faulty distribution of work among the different departments. It is one of the most serious of all the obstacles to good executive work, to effective work, and to economy in the public service. No matter how well a bureau or division may be organized and directed, you can not get the best work out of it unless it is associated with, and co-operating with, the other bureaus and divisions which are engaged in cognate lines of work and with which it naturally belongs. Good teamwork is as much needed in the executive civil service as it can possibly be anywhere else. And it is the only way to prevent duplication of work. Your own work is most important, but it covers only half of the field. To put the departments on the best and most economical working basis the President, as I have already recommended, should be given power to transfer any part of the work of a department to another department, as was done in the case of the Department of Commerce and Labor.

In closing I wish to say a word of acknowledgment of the public-spirited and most valuable co-operation of the American Association of Public Accountants, which has been promised to the Committee on Department Methods. I wish to thank them, and I wish to thank you, gentlemen, for the invaluable work that you are doing.

TO THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND THE REPRESENTATIVES OF LABOR ASSOCIATED WITH THEM, AT THE EXECUTIVE OFFICE, MARCH 21, 1906

Gentlemen:

If your body objects to the passage of the proposed anti-injunction bill, I have no question that you can stop it, for there is not a capitalist concerned who simply as capitalist is not against it; though I believe that a goodly number both of capitalists and wage-workers who are concerned primarily as citizens favor it. The law was worked over and substantially whipped into its present shape at a number of conferences between representatives of the railroad organizations, of the Department of Justice, and of the Bureau of Corporations with me. It goes as far as I personally think it should go in limiting the right of injunction; at any rate, no arguments have hitherto been advanced which make me think it should go farther. I do not believe it has any chance of passing, because there has been great criticism in both Houses of Congress against the attitude of the Administration in going so far as we have gone; and if you think it is not far enough, why, you will have no earthly difficulty in killing the bill. Personally, I think the proposed law a most admirable one, and I very sincerely wish it would be put through. As for the right of injunction, it is absolutely necessary to have this power

lodged in the courts; though of course any abuse of the power is strongly to be reprobated. During the four and a half years that I have been President I do not remember an instance where the Government has invoked the right of injunction against a combination of laborers. We have invoked it certainly a score of times against combinations of capital; I think possibly oftener. Thus, though we have secured the issuance of injunctions in a number of cases against capitalistic combinations, it has happened that we have never tried to secure an injunction against a combination of labor. But understand me, gentlemen; if I ever thought it necessary, if I thought a combination of laborers were doing wrong, I would apply for an injunction against them just as quick as against so many capitalists.

Now I come to the general subject of your petition. I wish in the first place to state my regret that you did not divorce so much of the petition as refers to the action of the Executive from so much as refers to the action of the legislative branch, because I can not consider any petition that you make that reflects upon the co-ordinate branch of the Government, or that makes any charges whatever against it. I would not even receive it save for the fact that in part it affects the Executive. Therefore in what I have to say I shall limit myself solely to what you assert in reference to the acts of the Executive.

You speak of the eight-hour law. Your criticism, so far as it relates to the Executive, bears upon the signature of the appropriation bill containing the

money for expenditure on the Panama Canal, with the proviso that the eight-hour law shall not there apply. If your statement is intended to mean that no opportunity was given for a hearing before me, then the statement is not in accordance with the facts. There was ample opportunity, but not a single request for such a hearing came to me. I received, however, some hundreds of telegrams and letters requesting the veto of the entire appropriation bill because it contained that proviso. Frankly, I found it difficult to believe that you were writing and telegraphing with any kind of knowledge of the conditions in the case. I believe emphatically in the eight-hour law for our own people in our own country. But the conditions of labor, such as we have to work with in the tropics, are so absolutely different that there is no possible analogy between them; and an eight-hour law for the Panama Canal is an absurdity. Every one of you knows that we can not get white labor, can not get labor of the United States, to go down to Panama and work. We are driven to extremities in the effort to get any kind of labor at all. Just at the moment we are working chiefly with negro labor from the West Indies. The usual result in the employment of those men is that Monday and Tuesday they work fairly well, Wednesday and Thursday there is a marked falling off, and by Friday and Saturday not more than a half, sometimes less than a fourth, of the laborers will be at work. The conditions that make the eight-hour law proper here have no possible reference to

the conditions that make the eight-hour law entirely improper there. The conditions are so utterly different on the Isthmus, as compared to here, that it is impossible to try to draw conclusions affecting the one from what is true about the other. You hamper me in the effort to get for you what I think you ought to have in connection with the eight-hour law, when you make a request that is indefensible, and to grant which would mean indefinite delay and injury to the work on the Isthmus.

As to the violations of the eight-hour law, Mr. Morrison, you give me no specifications. At your earliest convenience please lay before me in detail any complaints you have of violations of the eight-hour law. Where I have power I will see that the law is obeyed. All I ask is that you give me the cases. I will take them up, and if they prove to be sustained by the facts I shall see that the law is enforced.

Now, about the Chinese exclusion. The number of Chinese now in this country is, if I remember aright, some sixty or seventy thousand. So far from there being a great influx of the Chinese, the fact is that the number has steadily decreased. There are fewer Chinese than there were ten years ago, fewer than there were twenty years ago, fewer than there were thirty years ago. Unquestionably some scores of cases occur each year where Chinese laborers get in either by being smuggled over the Mexican and Canadian borders, or by coming in under false certificates; but the steps that we have

taken, the changes in the consuls that have been made within the last few years in the Orient, and the effort to conduct examinations in China before the immigrants are allowed to come here, are materially reducing even the small number of cases that do occur. But even as it is the number of these cases is insignificant. There is no appreciable influx of Chinese laborers, and there is not the slightest or most remote danger of any; the whole scare that has been worked up on the subject is a pure chimera. It is my deep conviction that we must keep out of this country every Chinese laborer, skilled or unskilled —every Chinaman of the coolie class. This is what the proposed law will do; it will be done as effectively as under the present law; and the present law is being handled with the utmost efficiency. But I will do everything in my power to make it easy and desirable for the Chinese of the business and professional classes, the Chinese travelers and students, to come here, and I will do all I can to secure their good treatment when they come; and no laboring man has anything whatever to fear from that policy. I have a right to challenge you as good American citizens to support that policy; and in any event I shall stand unflinchingly for it; and no man can say with sincerity that on this, or indeed on any other point, he has any excuse for misunderstanding my policy.

You have spoken of the immigration laws. I believe not merely that all possible steps should be taken to prevent the importation of laborers under

any form, but I believe further that this country ought to make a resolute effort from now on to prevent the coming to the country of men with a standard of living so low that they tend, by entering into unfair competition with, to reduce the standard of living of our own people. Not one of you can go farther than I will go in the effort steadily to raise the status of the American wage-worker, so long as, while doing it, I can retain a clear conscience and the certainty that I am doing what is right. I will do all in my power for the laboring man except to do what is wrong; and I will not do that for him or for any one else.

We must not let our national sentiment for succoring the oppressed and unfortunate of other lands lead us into that warped moral and mental attitude of trying to succor them at the expense of pulling down our own people. Laws should be enacted to keep out all immigrants who do not show that they have the right stuff in them to enter into our life on terms of decent equality with our own citizens. This is needed, first, in the interest of the laboring man, but furthermore in the interests of all of us as American citizens; for, gentlemen, the bonds that unite all good American citizens are stronger by far than the differences, which I think you accentuate altogether too much, between the men who do one kind of labor and the men who do another. As for immigrants, we can not have too many of the right kind; and we should have none at all of the wrong kind; and they are of the right kind if we

can be fairly sure that their children and grandchildren can meet on terms of equality our children and grandchildren, so as to try to be decent citizens together and to work together for the uplifting of the Republic.

Now a word as to the petitioning of employees to Congress. That stands in no shape or way on a par with the petitioning of men not employed by the Government. I can not have and will not have when I can prevent it men who are concerned in the administration of Government affairs going to Congress and asking for increased pay, without the permission of the heads of the departments. Their business is to come through the heads of departments. This applies to postmasters, to Army and Navy officers, to clerks in the Government departments, to laborers; it applies to each and all, and must apply, as a matter of simple discipline.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PLAYGROUNDS COUNCILS AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 12, 1906

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I trust that it is not necessary for me to say what a pleasure it is to meet you and how very earnest and hearty my sympathy is with your purpose. I owed my first interest in the playground question, among a great many other things, to Jacob Riis when he spoke of the poor children who were not allowed to play in the streets, but had to play in the streets as they had no other place to play. I have felt very

keenly the need of playgrounds, and of course as the children grow older, the need of athletic grounds. In expressing my adherence to what you have said, Dr. Gulick, as to the need of helping adapt the plays, and of course the playgrounds and athletic grounds, to the needs of the citizenship of city life, let me add just one thing, which, I am sure, it is hardly necessary for me to say; and that is to remember that in trying to shape the plays for the children you must previously consult the children's wishes. You must try to take advantage of their initiative and simply help in shaping it in the proper direction. One of the chief difficulties that all of us have encountered who have tried to help, whether in establishing playgrounds for children, or in establishing hotels for young women, or houses where working girls could live, or clubs, which instead of being saloons should be coffee clubs, for men, has arisen from the fact that philanthropists often establish such excellent but minute and overprecautionary regulations that nobody will inhabit them. As far as possible let the children work out their own salvation in their own way; simply exercise such supervision as to see that they do not do harm. Remember that in the last analysis the play has to suit them and not us.

TO THE GERMAN VETERANS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 12, 1906

I welcome you here, my fellow-Americans; for among the many strains that go to make up our

composite race stock in this country, no strain has given us better Americans than those who are of German birth or blood. It is our peculiar pride as a nation that in this Republic we have measurably realized the ideal under which good citizens know no discrimination as between creed and creed, birthplace and birthplace, provided only that whatever the man's parentage may have been, whatever the way in which he worships his Creator, he strives in good faith to do his duty by himself and by his fellow-men and to show his unflinching loyalty to our common country. In addition to thus greeting you, my fellow-Americans of German birth, I wish also to greet the German citizens present, the members of the German army, belonging to the reserve of that army, and to welcome them here; especially Mr. Ambassador, as they are brought here by you, yourself an old soldier, who have endeared yourself to the American people by your hearty friendship for this country.

The reverence a man preserves for his native land, so far from standing in the way of his loving and doing his full duty by the land of his adoption, should help him toward this love and the performance of this duty. If a man is a good son he is apt to make a good husband; and the quality that makes a man reverence the country of his birth is apt to be the quality that makes him a good citizen in the country of his adoption.

The ties that unite Germany and the United States are many and close, and it must be a prime

object of our statesmanship to knit the two nations ever closer together. In no country is there a warmer admiration for Germany and for Germany's exalted ruler, Emperor William, than here in America.

It is not out of place in closing for me to say a word of congratulation both to the German people and the German Emperor upon the work that has been accomplished in the Algeciras convention which has just closed, a conference held chiefly because of the initiative of Germany. It was not a conference in which we Americans as a nation had much concern, save that it is always our concern to see justice obtain everywhere, and, so far as we properly can, to work for the cause of international peace and good-will. In its outcome this conference has added to the likelihood of the betterment of conditions in Morocco itself, has secured equitable dealing as among the foreign Powers who have commercial relations with Morocco, and has diminished the chance of friction between these Powers. In particular it may not be out of place for me to say that I hope and believe that the conference has resulted and will result in rendering continually more friendly the relations between the mighty Empire of Germany and the mighty Republic of France; for it is my hope and wish, as it must be the hope and wish of every sincere well wisher of humankind, that these friendly relations may not only continue unbroken but may ever grow in strength.

AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE OFFICE BUILDING OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1906

Over a century ago Washington laid the corner-stone of the Capitol in what was then little more than a tract of wooded wilderness here beside the Potomac. We now find it necessary to provide by great additional buildings for the business of the Government. This growth in the need for the housing of the Government is but a proof and example of the way in which the Nation has grown and the sphere of action of the National Government has grown. We now administer the affairs of a nation in which the extraordinary growth of population has been outstripped by the growth of wealth and the growth in complex interests. The material problems that face us to-day are not such as they were in Washington's time, but the underlying facts of human nature are the same now as they were then. Under altered external form we war with the same tendencies toward evil that were evident in Washington's time, and are helped by the same tendencies for good. It is about some of these that I wish to say a word to-day.

In Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" you may recall the description of the Man with the Muck-rake, the man who could look no way but downward, with the muck-rake in his hand; who was offered a celestial crown for his muck-rake, but who would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered,

but continued to rake to himself the filth of the floor.

In "Pilgrim's Progress" the Man with the Muck-rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of on spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very necessary that we should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine, or newspaper, with merciless severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful. The liar is no

whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander, he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth. An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does not good, but very great harm. The soul of every scoundrel is gladdened whenever an honest man is assailed, or even when a scoundrel is untruthfully assailed.

Now, it is easy to twist out of shape what I have just said, easy to affect to misunderstand it, and, if it is slurred over in repetition, not difficult really to misunderstand it. Some persons are sincerely incapable of understanding that to denounce mud slinging does not mean the indorsement of whitewashing; and both the interested individuals who need whitewashing, and those others who practice mud slinging, like to encourage such confusion of ideas. One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life, is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary. If Aristides is praised overmuch as just, people get tired of hearing it; and overcensure of the unjust finally and from similar reasons results in their favor.

Any excess is almost sure to invite a reaction; and, unfortunately, the reaction, instead of taking

the form of punishment of those guilty of the excess, is very apt to take the form either of punishment of the unoffending or of giving immunity, and even strength, to offenders. The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment, and at the same time act as a profound deterrent to able men of normal sensitiveness and tend to prevent them from entering the public service at any price. As an instance in point, I may mention that one serious difficulty encountered in getting the right type of men to dig the Panama Canal is the certainty that they will be exposed, both without, and, I am sorry to say, sometimes within, Congress, to utterly reckless assaults on their character and capacity.

At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is, not for immunity to but for the most unsparing exposure of the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal; but remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the

forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution. The men with the muck-rakes are often indispensable to the well-being of society; but only if they know when to stop raking the muck, and to look upward to the celestial crown above them, to the crown of worthy endeavor. There are beautiful things above and round about them; and if they gradually grow to feel that the whole world is nothing but muck, their power of usefulness is gone. If the whole picture is painted black there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows. Such painting finally induces a kind of moral color-blindness; and people affected by it come to the conclusion that no man is really black, and no man really white, but they are all gray. In other words, they neither believe in the truth of the attack, nor in the honesty of the man who is attacked; they grow as suspicious of the accusation as of the offence; it becomes wellnigh hopeless to stir them either to wrath against wrong-doing or to enthusiasm for what is right; and such a mental attitude in the public gives hope to every knave, and is the despair of honest men.

To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability

to discriminate between the good and the bad. Either attitude is fraught with untold damage to the country as a whole. The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is wellnigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad. There is nothing more distressing to every good patriot, to every good American, than the hard, scoffing spirit which treats the allegation of dishonesty in a public man as a cause for laughter. Such laughter is worse than the crackling of thorns under a pot, for it denotes not merely the vacant mind, but the heart in which high emotions have been choked before they could grow to fruition.

There is any amount of good in the world, and there never was a time when loftier and more disinterested work for the betterment of mankind was being done than now. The forces that tend for evil are great and terrible, but the forces of truth and love and courage and honesty and generosity and sympathy are also stronger than ever before. It is a foolish and timid, no less than a wicked, thing to blink the fact that the forces of evil are strong, but it is even worse to fail to take into account the strength of the forces that tell for good. Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness. The men who with stern sobriety and truth assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in magazines, or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for

social and political betterment. But if they give good reason for distrust of what they say, if they chill the ardor of those who demand truth as a primary virtue, they thereby betray the good cause, and play into the hands of the very men against whom they are nominally at war.

In his "Ecclesiastical Polity" that fine old Elizabethan divine, Bishop Hooker, wrote:

"He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kind of regimen is subject, but the secret lets and difficulties, which in public proceedings are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider."

This truth should be kept constantly in mind by every free people desiring to preserve the sanity and poise indispensable to the permanent success of self-government. Yet, on the other hand, it is vital not to permit this spirit of sanity and self-command to degenerate into mere mental stagnation. Bad though a state of hysterical excitement is, and evil though the results are which come from the violent oscillations such excitement invariably produces, yet a sodden acquiescence in evil is even worse. At this moment we are passing through a period of great unrest—social, political, and industrial unrest. It is of the utmost importance for our future that this should prove to be not the unrest of mere rebelliousness against life, of mere

dissatisfaction with the inevitable inequality of conditions, but the unrest of a resolute and eager ambition to secure the betterment of the individual and the nation. So far as this movement of agitation throughout the country takes the form of a fierce discontent with evil, of a determination to punish the authors of evil, whether in industry or politics, the feeling is to be heartily welcomed as a sign of healthy life.

If, on the other hand, it turns into a mere crusade of appetite against appetite, of a contest between the brutal greed of the "have-nots" and the brutal greed of the "haves," then it has no significance for good, but only for evil. If it seeks to establish a line of cleavage, not along the line which divides good men from bad, but along that other line, running at right angles thereto, which divides those who are well off from those who are less well off, then it will be fraught with immeasurable harm to the body politic.

We can no more and no less afford to condone evil in the man of capital than evil in the man of no capital. The wealthy man who exults because there is a failure of justice in the effort to bring some trust magnate to an account for his misdeeds is as bad as, and no worse than, the so-called labor leader who clamorously strives to excite a foul class feeling on behalf of some other labor leader who is implicated in murder. One attitude is as bad as the other, and no worse; in each case the accused is entitled to exact justice; and in neither

case is there need of action by others which can be construed into an expression of sympathy for crime.

It is a prime necessity that if the present unrest is to result in permanent good the emotion shall be translated into action, and that the action shall be marked by honesty, sanity, and self-restraint. There is mighty little good in a mere spasm of reform. The reform that counts is that which comes through steady, continuous growth; violent emotionalism leads to exhaustion.

It is important to this people to grapple with the problems connected with the amassing of enormous fortunes, and the use of those fortunes, both corporate and individual, in business. We should discriminate in the sharpest way between fortunes well-won and fortunes ill-won; between those gained as an incident to performing great services to the community as a whole, and those gained in evil fashion by keeping just within the limits of mere law-honesty. Of course no amount of charity in spending such fortunes in any way compensates for misconduct in making them. As a matter of personal conviction, and without pretending to discuss the details or formulate the system, I feel that we shall ultimately have to consider the adoption of some such scheme as that of a progressive tax on all fortunes, beyond a certain amount, either given in life or devised or bequeathed upon death to any individual—a tax so framed as to put it out of the power of the owner of one of these enormous fortunes to hand on more than a certain amount to

any one individual; the tax, of course, to be imposed by the National and not the State government. Such taxation should, of course, be aimed merely at the inheritance or transmission in their entirety of those fortunes swollen beyond all healthy limits.

Again, the National Government must in some form exercise supervision over corporations engaged in interstate business—and all large corporations are engaged in interstate business—whether by license or otherwise, so as to permit us to deal with the far-reaching evils of overcapitalization. This year we are making a beginning in the direction of serious effort to settle some of these economic problems by the railway-rate legislation. Such legislation, if so framed, as I am sure it will be, as to secure definite and tangible results, will amount to something of itself; and it will amount to a great deal more in so far as it is taken as a first step in the direction of a policy of superintendence and control over corporate wealth engaged in interstate commerce, this superintendence and control not to be exercised in a spirit of malevolence toward the men who have created the wealth, but with the firm purpose both to do justice to them and to see that they in their turn do justice to the public at large.

The first requisite in the public servants who are to deal in this shape with corporations, whether as legislators or as executives, is honesty. This honesty can be no respecter of persons. There

can be no such thing as unilateral honesty. The danger is not really from corrupt corporations; it springs from the corruption itself, whether exercised for or against corporations.

The eighth commandment reads, "Thou shalt not steal." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the rich man." It does not read, "Thou shalt not steal from the poor man." It reads simply and plainly, "Thou shalt not steal." No good whatever will come from that warped and mock morality which denounces the misdeeds of men of wealth and forgets the misdeeds practiced at their expense; which denounces bribery, but blinds itself to blackmail; which foams with rage if a corporation secures favors by improper methods, and merely leers with hideous mirth if the corporation is itself wronged. The only public servant who can be trusted honestly to protect the rights of the public against the misdeed of a corporation is that public man who will just as surely protect the corporation itself from wrongful aggression. If a public man is willing to yield to popular clamor and do wrong to the men of wealth or to rich corporations, it may be set down as certain that if the opportunity comes he will secretly and furtively do wrong to the public in the interest of a corporation.

But, in addition to honesty, we need sanity. No honesty will make a public man useful if that man is timid or foolish, if he is a hot-headed zealot or an impracticable visionary. As we strive for reform we find that it is not at all merely the case of a

long uphill pull. On the contrary, there is almost as much of breeching work as of collar work; to depend only on traces means that there will soon be a runaway and an upset. The men of wealth who to-day are trying to prevent the regulation and control of their business in the interest of the public by the proper Government authorities will not succeed, in my judgment, in checking the progress of the movement. But if they did succeed they would find that they had sown the wind and would surely reap the whirlwind, for they would ultimately provoke the violent excesses which accompany a reform coming by convulsion instead of by steady and natural growth.

On the other hand, the wild preachers of unrest and discontent, the wild agitators against the entire existing order, the men who act crookedly, whether because of sinister design or from mere puzzle-headedness, the men who preach destruction without proposing any substitute for what they intend to destroy, or who propose a substitute which would be far worse than the existing evils—all these men are the most dangerous opponents of real reform. If they get their way they will lead the people into a deeper pit than any into which they could fall under the present system. If they fail to get their way they will still do incalculable harm by provoking the kind of reaction which, in its revolt against the senseless evil of their teaching, would enthrone more securely than ever the very evils which their misguided followers believe they are attacking.

More important than aught else is the development of the broadest sympathy of man for man. The welfare of the wage-worker, the welfare of the tiller of the soil, upon these depend the welfare of the entire country; their good is not to be sought in pulling down others; but their good must be the prime object of all our statesmanship.

Materially we must strive to secure a broader economic opportunity for all men, so that each shall have a better chance to show the stuff of which he is made. Spiritually and ethically we must strive to bring about clean living and right thinking. We appreciate that the things of the body are important; but we appreciate also that the things of the soul are immeasurably more important. The foundation-stone of national life is, and ever must itself be, the high individual character of the average citizen.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, APRIL 18, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I submit herewith a letter of the Attorney-General, enclosing a statement of the proceedings by the United States against the individuals and corporations commonly known as the "Beef Packers," and commenting upon the decision of District Judge Humphrey. The result has been a miscarriage of justice. It clearly appears from the letter of the Attorney-General that no criticism whatever attaches to Commissioner Garfield; what he did was

in strict accordance with the law and in pursuance of a duty imposed on him by Congress, which could not be avoided; and of course Congress in passing the Martin resolution could not possibly have foreseen the decision of Judge Humphrey.

But this interpretation by Judge Humphrey of the will of the Congress, as expressed in legislation, is such as to make that will absolutely abortive. Unfortunately, there is grave doubt whether the Government has the right of appeal from this decision of the District Judge. The case well illustrates the desirability of conferring upon the Government the same right of appeal in criminal cases, on questions of law, which the defendant now has, in all cases where the defendant had not been put in jeopardy by a trial upon the merits of the charge made against him. The laws of many of the States, and the law of the District of Columbia, recently enacted by the Congress, give the Government the right of appeal. A general law of the character indicated should certainly be enacted.

Furthermore, it is very desirable to enact a law declaring the true construction of the existing legislation so far as it affects immunity. I can hardly believe that the ruling of Judge Humphrey will be followed by other judges; but if it should be followed, the result would be either completely to nullify very much, and possibly the major part, of the good to be obtained from the interstate commerce law and from the law creating the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and

Labor; or else frequently to obstruct an appeal to the criminal laws by the Department of Justice. There seems to be no good reason why the Department of Justice, the Department of Commerce and Labor, and the Interstate Commerce Commission, each, should not, for the common good, proceed within its own powers without undue interference with the functions of the other. It is, of course, necessary, under the Constitution and the laws, that persons who give testimony or produce evidence, as witnesses, should receive immunity from prosecution. It has hitherto been supposed that the immunity conferred by existing laws was only upon persons who, being subpœnaed, had given testimony or produced evidence, as witnesses, relating to any offence with which they were, or might be, charged. But Judge Humphrey's decision is, in effect, that, if either the Commissioner of Corporations does his duty, or the Interstate Commerce Commission does its, by making the investigations which they by law are required to make, though they issue no subpœna and receive no testimony or evidence, within the proper meaning of those words, the very fact of the investigation may, of itself, operate to prevent the prosecution of any offender for any offence which may have been developed in even the most indirect manner during the course of the investigation, or even for any offence which may have been detected by investigations conducted by the Department of Justice entirely independently of the labors of the Interstate Commerce Commission or of the Com-

missioner of Corporations—the only condition of immunity being that the offender should have given, or directed to be given, information which related to the subject out of which the offence has grown.

In offences of this kind it is at the best hard enough to execute justice upon offenders. Our system of criminal jurisprudence has descended to us from a period when the danger was lest the accused should not have his rights adequately preserved, and it is admirably framed to meet this danger. But at present the danger is just the reverse; that is, the danger nowadays is, not that the innocent man will be convicted of crime, but that the guilty man will go scot-free. This is especially the case where the crime is one of greed and cunning, perpetrated by a man of wealth in the course of those business operations where the code of conduct is at variance, not merely with the code of humanity and morality, but with the code as established in the law of the land. It is much easier, but much less effective, to proceed against a corporation, than to proceed against the individuals in that corporation who are themselves responsible for the wrong-doing. Very naturally outside persons who have no knowledge of the facts, and no responsibility for the success of the proceedings, are apt to clamor for action against the individuals. The Department of Justice has, most wisely, invariably refused thus to proceed against individuals, unless it was convinced both that they were in fact guilty and that there was at least a reasonable chance of establishing this fact

of their guilt. These beef-packing cases offered one of the very few instances where there was not only the moral certainty that the accused men were guilty, but what seemed—and now seems—sufficient legal evidence of the fact.

But in obedience to the explicit orders of the Congress the Commissioner of Corporations had investigated the beef-packing business. The counsel for the beef-packers explicitly admitted that there was no claim that any promise of immunity had been given by Mr. Garfield, as shown by the following colloquy during the argument of the Attorney-General:

Mr. Moody. " . . . I dismiss almost with a word the claim that Mr. Garfield promised immunity. Whether there is any evidence of such a promise or not, I do not know and I do not care."

Mr. Miller (the counsel for the beef-packers). "There is no claim of it."

Mr. Moody. "Then I was mistaken, and I will not even say that word."

But Judge Humphrey holds that if the Commissioner of Corporations (and therefore if the Interstate Commerce Commission), in the course of any investigations prescribed by Congress, asks any questions of a person, not called as a witness, or asks any questions of an officer of a corporation, not called as a witness, with regard to the action of the corporation on a subject out of which prosecutions may subsequently arise, then the fact of such questions having been asked operates as a bar to

the prosecution of that person or of that officer of the corporation for his own misdeeds.

Such interpretation of the law comes measurably near making the law a farce; and I therefore recommend that the Congress pass a declaratory act stating its real intention.

TO THE NEW JERSEY ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL MINISTERS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, APRIL 18, 1906

Mr. Moderator; and Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a very real privilege to greet you here; and, Mr. Moderator, the church to which I belong, the Dutch Reformed, is not really so far off from the Congregational.

I must say just one word of special greeting. I think that any American who realizes what have been the leading and vital forces in the formation of this country must always have a certain special feeling toward the members of the Congregational Church—of the old Puritan church that is identified forever with the stock that did more than any other one stock in impressing its peculiar genius upon our people and our institutions.

Of course I feel that whether in public life or in private life nothing really counts if there is not a revival of conscience—and a revival that stays put. I am not always able as President to feel the entire absorption in the so-called political questions that come up, which I suppose a President ought to feel, Mr. Moderator, because I do not regard them as

being one-tenth or one-hundredth part as important as so many other questions in our life. We can differ with entire safety, as a people, on questions of the tariff, on questions of the currency, so far as that difference does not mean one about national honesty, but we can not afford to differ as regards the root matters that make a decent man or woman, a decent family, and therefore a decent nation. There are certain of that famous old Congregationalist's—Cromwell's—"fundamentals" on which we can not afford to differ. We can not afford to differ on the question of honesty—honesty in public life and private life alike. The question of truth-telling is another. There are not a few people who, while ostensibly warring for honesty, totally forget that it is just as incumbent upon them to tell the truth. I am a hearty upholder of the eighth commandment; and also of the ninth, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor." Both commandments are equally binding. We can not afford to lose sight finally of the fact that in a republic like ours healthy civic life must be based upon the rule of conduct which is admitted to be the binding rule in every church worthy the name—that rule of remembering that each is his brother's keeper. Each must not only do his duty, but each must do it in a spirit of genuine sympathy, of feeling for the other, of trying to put himself or herself in that other's place, and trying therefore to help that other.

We have many problems in this country. In deal-

ing with those problems we need a wide and fearless conservatism; and we need equally a wise and fearless radicalism. Above all we need to approach them in the spirit of those who will fearlessly endeavor to find out what the facts are and then, without malice but with resolution, having found out the facts, shape their policy so as to do away with what is evil in the existing conditions while conserving what is good; and so carry themselves that at the end of each man's or woman's life he or she may feel that he or she has contributed something, little or much, but something toward meeting the conditions and toward leaving the world just a little bit better off because he or she has been in it.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE REINTERMENT OF THE REMAINS OF JOHN PAUL JONES AT ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND, APRIL 24, 1906

On behalf of the American people I wish to thank our ancient ally, the great French nation, that proud and gallant nation, to whose help we once owed it that John Paul Jones was able to win for the Stars and Stripes the victory that has given him deathless fame, and to whose courtesy we now owe it that the body of the long-dead hero has been sent hither, and that to commemorate the reception of the illustrious dead a squadron of French warships has come to our shores.

The annals of the French navy are filled with the names of brave and able seamen, each of whom courted death as a mistress when the honor of his

flag was at stake; and among the figures of these brave men there loom the larger shapes of those who, like Tourville, Duquesne, and the Bailli de Suffren, won high renown as fleet admirals, inferior to none of any navy of their day in martial prowess.

In addition to welcoming the diplomatic and official representatives of France here present, let me also express my heartiest acknowledgments to our former ambassador to Paris, General Horace Porter, to whose zealous devotion we particularly owe it that the body of John Paul Jones has been brought to our shores.

When the body was thus brought over, the representatives of many different cities wrote to me, each asking that it should find its last resting-place in his city. But I feel that the place of all others in which the memory of the dead hero will most surely be a living force is here in Annapolis, where year by year we turn out the midshipmen who are to officer in the future the Navy, among whose founders the dead man stands first. Moreover, the future naval officers who live within these walls will find in the career of the man whose life we this day celebrate, not merely a subject for admiration and respect, but an object-lesson to be taken into their innermost hearts. Every officer in our Navy should know by heart the deeds of John Paul Jones. Every officer in our Navy should feel in each fibre of his being the eager desire to emulate the energy, the professional capacity, the indomitable determination, and dauntless scorn of death

which marked John Paul Jones above all his fellows.

The history of our Navy, like the history of our Nation, only extends over a period of a century and a quarter; yet we already have many memories of pride to thrill us as we read and hear of what has been done by our fighting men of the sea, from Perry and Macdonough to Farragut and Dewey. These memories include brilliant victories, and also, now and then, defeats only less honorable than the victories themselves; but the only defeats to which this praise can be given are those where, against heavy odds, men have stood to the death in hopeless battle. It is well for every American officer to remember that while a surrender may or may not be defensible, the man who refuses to surrender need never make a defence. The one fact must always be explained; the other needs no explanation. Moreover, he who would win glory and honor for the nation and for himself, must not too closely count the odds; if he does, he will never see such a day as that when Cushing sank the "Albemarle."

In his fight with the "Serapis," Jones's ship was so badly mauled that his opponent hailed him, saying, "Has your ship struck?" to which Jones answered, "I have not yet begun to fight." The spirit which inspired that answer upbore the man who gave it and the crew who served under him through the fury of the battle, which finally ended in their triumph. It was the same spirit which marked the commanders of the "Cumberland" and the "Con-

gress," when they met an equally glorious though less fortunate fate. The "Cumberland" sank, her flag flying, and her guns firing with the decks awash, while, when summoned to surrender, Morris replied, "Never! I'll sink alongside!" and made his words good. Immediately after the "Cumberland" was sunk the "Congress" was attacked, and her commander, Lieutenant Joe Smith, was killed. After fighting until she was helpless, and being unable to bring her guns to bear, the ship was surrendered; but when Smith's father, old Commodore Joe Smith, who was on duty at Washington, saw by the despatches from Fort Monroe that the "Congress" had hoisted the white flag, he said quietly, "Then Joe's dead!" Surely no father could wish to feel a prouder certainty of his boy's behavior than the old Commodore showed he possessed when he thus spoke; and no naval officer could hope to win a finer epitaph.

We have met to-day to do honor to the mighty dead. Remember that our words of admiration are but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals if we do not by steady preparation and by the cultivation of soul and mind and body fit ourselves so that in time of need we shall be prepared to emulate their deeds. Let every midshipman who passes through this institution remember, as he looks upon the tomb of John Paul Jones, that while no courage can atone for the lack of that efficiency which comes only through careful preparation in advance, through careful training of the men, and careful fitting out

of the engines of war, yet that none of these things can avail unless in the moment of crisis the heart rises level with the crisis. The navy whose captains will not surrender is sure in the long run to whip the navy whose captains will surrender, unless the inequality of skill or force is prodigious. The courage which never yields can not take the place of the possession of good ships and good weapons and the ability skilfully to use these ships and these weapons.

I wish that our people as a whole, and especially those among us who occupy high legislative or administrative positions, would study the history of our Nation, not merely for the purpose of national self-gratification, but with the desire to learn the lessons that history teaches. Let the men who talk lightly about its being unnecessary for us now to have an army and navy adequate for the work of this Nation in the world remember that such utterances are not merely foolish, for in their effects they may at any time be fraught with disaster and disgrace to the Nation's honor as well as disadvantage to its interest. Let them take to heart some of the lessons which should be learned by the study of the War of 1812.

As a people we are too apt to remember only that some of our ships did well in that war. We had a few ships—a very few ships—and they did so well as to show the utter folly of not having enough of them. Thanks to our folly as a Nation, thanks to the folly that found expression in the

views of those at the seat of government, not a ship of any importance had been built within a dozen years before the war began, and the Navy was so small that, when once the war was on, our opponents were able to establish a close blockade throughout the length of our coast, so that not a ship could go from one port to another, and all traffic had to go by land. Our parsimony in not preparing an adequate navy (which would have prevented the war) cost in the end literally thousands of dollars for every one dollar we thus foolishly saved. After two years of that war, an utterly inconsiderable British force of about four thousand men were landed here in the bay, defeated with ease a larger body of raw troops put against it, and took Washington.

I am sorry to say that those of our countrymen who now speak of the deed usually confine themselves to denouncing the British for having burned certain buildings in Washington. They had better spare their breath. The sin of the invaders in burning the buildings is trivial compared with the sin of our own people in failing to make ready an adequate force to defeat the attempt. This Nation was guilty of such shortsightedness, of such folly, of such lack of preparation that it was forced supinely to submit to the insult and was impotent to avenge it; and it was only the good fortune of having in Andrew Jackson a great natural soldier that prevented a repetition of the disaster at New Orleans. Let us remember our own shortcomings, and see to

it that the men in public life to-day are not permitted to bring about a state of things by which we should in effect invite a repetition of such a humiliation.

We can afford as a people to differ on the ordinary party questions; but if we are both farsighted and patriotic we can not afford to differ on the all-important question of keeping the national defences as they should be kept; of not alone keeping up, but of going on with building up of, the United States Navy, and of keeping our small Army at least at its present size and making it the most efficient for its size that there is on the globe. Remember, you here who are listening to me, that to applaud patriotic sentiments and to turn out to do honor to the dead heroes who by land or by sea won honor for our flag is only worth while if we are prepared to show that our energies do not exhaust themselves in words; if we are prepared to show that we intend to take to heart the lessons of the past and make things ready so that if ever, which heaven forbid, the need should arise, our fighting men on sea and ashore shall be able to rise to the standard established by their predecessors in our services of the past.

Those of you who are in public life have a moral right to be here at this celebration to-day only if you are prepared to do your part in building up the Navy of the present; for otherwise you have no right to claim lot or part in the glory and honor and renown of the Navy's past.

So much for what we in civil life outside of public office and within it are to do for you, and must do for you, in the Navy. Let you in the Navy remember that you must do your part. You will be worthless in war if you have not prepared yourselves for it in peace. You will be utterly unable to rise to the needs of the crisis if you have not by long years of steady and patient work fitted yourselves to get the last ounce of work out of every man, every gun, and every ship in the fleet; if you have not practiced steadily on the high seas until each ship can do its best, can show at its best, alone or in conjunction with others in fleet formation. Remember that no courage can ever atone for lack of that preparedness which makes the courage valuable; and yet if the courage is there, if the dauntless heart is there, its presence will sometimes make up for other shortcomings; while if with it are combined the other military qualities the fortunate owner becomes literally invincible.

AT GALLAUDET COLLEGE, WASHINGTON, MAY 2, 1906

Mr. President; Members of the Graduating Class, and their Friends and Kinsfolk:

When I got here to-day I felt as if the president had brought me here under false pretences, because I was received with a football cheer, and while I already knew of your prowess both on the gridiron and the diamond, I did not know that you were able

to cheer the eleven and the nine in the usual canonical college fashion.

Let me say what a great pleasure it has been to come here to see you and to listen to you. While here I want to say a word of special appreciation about the essay of Mr. Rouse, and in particular because he laid such emphasis upon two really noteworthy volumes by an American writer produced of recent years—Mr. Crothers' "The Gentle Reader" and "The Pardner's Wallet"—and I am sorry for any book-lover who knows the English language and has not in his library those two really noteworthy pieces of wise and humorous presentations of subjects that ought to be presented. Mr. Crothers has rendered a very substantial service to American literature, and I am glad to have listened to the tribute paid to him.

In conclusion let me say a word in the way of hearty tribute to you who have done the great work of teaching in this institution, and to those who profit by that teaching. Your task has been hard; but in this life it is not the easy tasks, it is the hard tasks well done, that give real benefit to those doing them.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, MAY 4, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith a report by the Commissioner of the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor on the subject of trans-

portation and freight rates in connection with the oil industry. The investigation, the results of part of which are summarized in this report, was undertaken in accordance with House Resolution 499, passed February 15, 1905, but for the reasons given in the report it has been more general and extensive than was called for in the resolution itself.

I call your especial attention to the letter of transmittal accompanying and summarizing the report; for the report is of capital importance in view of the effort now being made to secure such enlargement of the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission as will confer upon the Commission power in some measure adequately to meet the clearly demonstrated needs of the situation. The facts set forth in this report are for the most part not disputed. It is only the inferences from them that are disputed, and even in this respect the dispute is practically limited to the question as to whether the transactions are or are not technically legal. The report shows that the Standard Oil Company has benefited enormously up almost to the present moment by secret rates, many of these secret rates being clearly unlawful. This benefit amounts to at least three-quarters of a million a year. This three-quarters of a million represents the profit that the Standard Oil Company obtains at the expense of the railroads; but of course the ultimate result is that it obtains a much larger profit at the expense of the public. A very striking result of the investigation has been that shortly after the discovery

of these secret rates by the Commissioner of Corporations, the major portion of them were promptly corrected by the railroads, so that most of them have now been done away with. This immediate correction, partial or complete, of the evil of the secret rates is of course on the one hand an acknowledgment that they were wrong, and yet were persevered in until exposed; and on the other hand a proof of the efficiency of the work that has been done by the Bureau of Corporations. The Department of Justice will take up the question of instituting prosecutions in at least certain of the cases. But it is most desirable to enact into law the bill introduced by Senator Knox to correct the interpretation of the immunity provision rendered in Judge Humphrey's decision. The hands of the Government have been greatly strengthened in securing an effective remedy by the recent decision of the Supreme Court in the case instituted by the Government against the tobacco trust, which decision permits the Government to examine the books and records of any corporation engaged in interstate commerce; and by the recent conviction and punishment of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad and certain of its officers.

But in addition to these secret rates the Standard Oil profits immensely by open rates, which are so arranged as to give it an overwhelming advantage over its independent competitors. The refusal of the railroads in certain cases to prorate produces analogous effects. Thus in New England the refusal of

certain railway systems to prorate has resulted in keeping the Standard Oil in absolute monopolistic control of the field, enabling it to charge from three to four hundred thousand dollars a year more to the consumers of oil in New England than they would have had to pay had the price paid been that obtaining in the competitive fields. This is a characteristic example of the numerous evils which are inevitable under a system in which the big shipper and the railroad are left free to crush out all individual initiative and all power of independent action because of the absence of adequate and thoroughgoing governmental control. Exactly similar conditions obtain in a large part of the West and Southwest. This particular instance exemplifies the fact that the granting to the Government of the power to substitute a proper for an improper rate is in very many instances the only effective way in which to prevent improper discriminations in rates.

It is not possible to put into figures the exact amount by which the Standard profits through the gross favoritism shown it by the railroads in connection with the open rates. The profit of course comes not merely by the saving in the rate itself as compared with its competitors, but by the higher prices it is able to charge, and (even without reference to these higher prices) by the complete control of the market which it secures, thereby getting the profit on the whole consumption. Here again the only way by which the discriminations can be cured is by conferring upon the Interstate Com-

merce Commission the power to take quick and effective action in regulating the rates.

One feature of the report which is especially worthy of attention is the showing made as to the way in which the law is evaded by treating as State commerce what is in reality merely a part of interstate commerce. It is clearly shown, for instance, that this device is employed on the New York Central Railroad, as well as on many other railroads, in such fashion as to amount to thwarting the purpose of the law, although the forms of the law may be complied with.

It is unfortunately not true that the Standard Oil Company is the only great corporation which in the immediate past has benefited, and is at this moment benefiting, in wholly improper fashion by an elaborate series of rate discriminations, which permit it to profit both at the expense of its rivals and of the general public. The Attorney-General reports to me that the investigation now going on as to the shipments by the sugar trust over the trunk lines running out of New York City tends to show that the sugar trust rarely if ever pays the lawful rate for transportation, and is thus improperly, and probably unlawfully, favored at the expense of its competitors and of the general public.

The argument is sometimes advanced against conferring upon some governmental body the power of supervision and control over interstate commerce, that to do so tends to weaken individual initiative. Investigations such as this conclusively disprove any

such allegation. On the contrary, the proper play for individual initiative can only be secured by such governmental supervision as will curb those monopolies which crush out all individual initiative. The railroad itself can not without such Government aid protect the interests of its own stockholders as against one of these great corporations loosely known as trusts.

In the effort to prevent the railroads from uniting for improper purposes we have very unwisely prohibited them from uniting for proper purposes; that is, for purposes of protection to themselves and to the general public as against the power of the great corporations. They should certainly be given power thus to unite on conditions laid down by Congress, such conditions to include the specific approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission of any agreement to which the railroads may come. In addition to this the Government must interfere through its agents to deprive the railroad of the ability to make to the big corporations the concessions which otherwise it is powerless to refuse.

The Government should have power by its agents to examine into the conduct of the railways—that is, the examiners under the direction of the Interstate Commerce Commission should be able to examine as thoroughly into the affairs of the railroads as bank examiners now examine into the affairs of banks.

It is impossible to work a material improvement in conditions such as above described merely through

the instrumentality of a lawsuit. A lawsuit is often a necessary method; but by itself it is an utterly inadequate method. What is needed is the conferring upon the Commission of ample affirmative power, so conferred as to make its decisions take effect at once, subject only to such action by the court as is demanded by the Constitution. The courts have the power to, and will undoubtedly, interfere if the action of the Commission should become in effect confiscatory of the property of an individual or corporation, or if the Commission should undertake to do anything beyond the authority conferred upon it by the law under which it is acting. I am well aware that within the limits thus set the Commission may at times be guilty of injustice; but far grosser and far more frequent injustice, and injustice of a much more injurious kind, now results and must always result from the failure to give the Commission ample power to act promptly and effectively within these broad limits.

Though not bearing upon the question of railroad rates, there are two measures consideration of which is imperatively suggested by the submission of this report. The Standard Oil Company has, largely by unfair or unlawful methods, crushed out home competition. It is highly desirable that an element of competition should be introduced by the passage of some such law as that which has already passed the House, putting alcohol used in the arts and manufactures upon the free list. Furthermore, the time has come when no oil or coal lands held by the Gov-

ernment, either upon the public domain proper or in territory owned by the Indian tribes, should be alienated. The fee to such lands should be kept in the United States Government whether or not the profits arising from it are to be given to any Indian tribe, and the lands should be leased only on such terms and for such periods as will enable the Government to keep entire control thereof.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE OF MISSOURI SYNOD, GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, MAY 16, 1906

Gentlemen and Ladies:

It is a very great pleasure to me to greet this delegation in the White House. The Lutheran Church began its great work among the people of the infant colonies three generations before those colonies became the United States of America, and from that day to this the Lutheran Church has played a great, and of recent years a constantly growing, part in that moral and spiritual development, for the lack of which no material development in a nation can atone.

Even yet it can rightly be said of our country that we are in the stage of a great workshop engaged in making a new nation. It is our especial duty as a people, and it is above all the duty of the churches of this people, to take care of the masses of strangers that come each year to our shores, later to become indistinguishably welded into our com-

mon citizenship. Last year there came more immigrants to the United States than came in all the years from the first settlement at Jamestown to the Declaration of Independence to the colonies that afterward became the United States. Those people come over here wrenched free from the old associations, cast adrift in entirely new surroundings, and it is a duty of those who desire this country to become what it must and shall become to see that the new-comers are not left to drift off among the forces of disorder and of irreligion, are not left to shift for themselves without aid from us. No church can play a more important part in doing this work than the Lutheran Church. The church that I myself belong to, a very much smaller one than yours—the Reformed Church—has on a smaller scale the same duty to perform. I most earnestly hope, speaking as one so convinced of the work that my own church must do, that yours, the larger church, one of the greatest in the country, will keep steadily before its eyes the prime necessity of that particular duty which lies at its door, the duty of helping the newcomer to our shores who is thrown in contact with so much that is evil, who is exposed to such temptation, of keeping him in touch with the church and social ties that will enable him speedily himself to become a part of the forces that tell for the moral no less than the material upbuilding of the nation and of each citizen thereof.

AT THE NAVY-YARD, PORTSMOUTH, VA., MAY 30, 1906

This day is hallowed and sacred in our history, for on this day throughout the land we meet to pay homage to the memory of the valiant dead who fell in the great Civil War. No other men deserve so well of this country as those to whom we owe it that we now have a country. Moreover, the men to whose valor we owe it that the Union was preserved have left us a country reunited in fact as well as in name. They have left us the memory of the great deeds and the self-devotion alike of the men who wore the blue and of the men who wore the gray in the contest where brother fought brother with equal courage, with equal sincerity of conviction, with equal fidelity to a high ideal, as it was given to each to see that ideal.

Moreover, it is a peculiar pleasure to speak to-day under the auspices of the Army and Navy Union, of the Union which is meant to include the officers and enlisted men of the regular forces of the United States. Exactly as there is no other body of men to whom in the past we have owed so much as to the veterans of the Civil War, so there is no other body of men among all of our citizens of to-day who as a whole deserve quite as well of the country as the officers and enlisted men of the Army and the Navy of the United States. Every man who has served well and faithfully, afloat or ashore, in the service of the United States, has

shown that he possesses certain qualities which entitle him in a peculiar degree to the respect of all his fellow-citizens, while every man who is now in the service can not but feel himself uplifted by the thought that in any time of future crisis it may be that the honor of the whole Nation will depend upon his bearing. There rests upon each of you a tremendous burden of responsibility, and therefore to you belongs the proud privilege of bearing that load of responsibility well.

This audience is composed largely of veterans of the Civil War, largely of men who have served in or are serving in the Army and the Navy of the United States. They are concerned not only with the duties of the soldier and the sailor, but with the duties of the civilian, with all matters affecting the plain, everyday citizen as he does his everyday duties. For we must always remember that in our country our Army and Navy are an army and navy made up of volunteers; all our forces are volunteers; our regulars, afloat and ashore, are merely our fellow-citizens who of their own free will have taken up this particular task. The task once through, they return to the body of our citizenship; and exactly as the efficiency of our military service depends chiefly upon the efficiency of the average enlisted man, so the efficiency of the nation as a whole depends chiefly upon the way in which the average man performs his plain, everyday duties.

This does not mean that the leader, whether in

military or civil life, can escape bearing a peculiar burden of responsibility. To him has been given much and from him much will be demanded. It is right and proper that the man in a high position, whether his position be that of a high civilian official in time of peace or of a high military or naval officer in time of war, should receive a marked degree of credit if he performs his difficult, delicate, and responsible task well, and should, on the other hand, be held to an especially sharp accountability for any shortcomings. In any time of crisis the man in high office in civil life, the man in high command in military or naval life, can, if he be weak or incompetent, paralyze the actions of a multitude of brave and able men who are under him. On the other hand, if in intellect, and above all, in character, he is able to rise level to the need of the moment, he may so combine and direct the actions of the many under him as to make their joint effort irresistible. The first duty of a leader, civil or military, is to lead; and he must lead well. Exactly as the people must demand the highest grade of integrity and efficiency from their leaders in civil affairs, so in military affairs they must insist upon every officer devoting all the best that there is in him to fitting himself in the duties of his profession, to caring for and drilling and training those under him, so that alike in point of personnel and in point of matériel the Army and Navy of the United States may reach as high a point of perfection as is humanly possible. This is the work that

only the leaders can do; and if they shirk it their shame is unspeakable.

Nevertheless it remains true that no leader can accomplish very much unless he has the right kind of men to lead. Unless the enlisted man has the right stuff in him it stands to reason that no officer can get it out of him, because it is not there to get out. So in civil life, if all our leaders were Washingtons and Lincolns they could, nevertheless, make no permanent improvement in our citizenship unless the average citizen had in him the capacity for such improvement. In the last analysis it is the man behind the ballot who counts most in civil life, just as it is the man behind the gun who counts most in military life.

We can not too highly honor the memory of the leaders in the Civil War—of Grant and Lee, of Sherman and Johnston, of Stonewall Jackson and Sheridan, of Farragut and of the captains who fought under and against him. But after all the man upon whom the chief credit must rest was the plain man in the ranks, the man in blue or in gray who went in to see the war through, and who did see it through. He had the courage to stand without flinching the bickering of the skirmishes and the hammering of the great fights; he had the steadfast endurance to bear with uncomplaining resolution the hunger and the heat and the cold, the scorching days and the freezing nights, the grinding, heartbreaking fatigue of the marches, the wearisome monotony of the camps, and the slow suffering

of the field hospitals. So in the Army and the Navy to-day, in the last analysis we must depend upon having the right stuff in the enlisted man and then upon having that stuff put into proper shape. So again in our Republic as a whole it is just as true in peace now as it was forty-five years ago in war that it is the character of the average man that must be the determining factor in achieving national success or going down to national disaster. Leadership is necessary in order that we may get really good results out of a high average of individual character; but without the high character in the average individual the leadership by itself can avail but little.

Now it is easy to say this in words which shall imply merely flattery of the average voter or of the average enlisted man. I certainly do not intend my words to be so taken. It is a sure sign of weakness in any man if he is always wanting to be flattered, and especially if he lets his head be turned by flattery. The average voter needs to learn and to keep steadily in mind the fact that if in the last resort the real power is his, so in the last resort the real responsibility is his. He can not cast off on any one else the responsibility for our governmental shortcomings. Nothing is cheaper than to say that the people are all right but that the politicians are all wrong. As a matter of fact, politics, and therefore politicians, will in the long run represent faithfully either the wishes or the indifference of the people; and if the people are indifferent the results

are just about as bad as if they deliberately choose to go wrong. So it is with the enlisted man. When I call attention to the high place he holds, and must ever hold in the esteem of every sensible man, I do it less with the intention of emphasizing the respect due him by outsiders than with the intention of making him realize the burden of honorable obligation resting upon his shoulders. By unwearied effort he must learn to do his duty, whether that duty lies afloat or ashore, whether it lies in the cavalry or the infantry, in the gun turret or in the engine-room. He must be able to handle himself and to handle the formidable and delicate mechanism intrusted to his care in such manner that if ever it becomes his fortune to take part in battle for the flag another page shall be added to the many which go to make up the long honor roll of American history.

In closing I ask your attention to the fact that our soldiers and sailors are able to do their duty in great emergencies even other than those of war. Recently the most appalling disaster that has ever befallen any city in our country, the most appalling disaster that has befallen any city of the same size for a century past, befell the great and beautiful city of San Francisco. In the midst of their horror and pity and sympathy the rest of our people were rendered proud and glad by the courage, the self-reliance, the self-command shown by the men and women of San Francisco themselves under the sudden and awful calamity which had befallen them.

We had yet another source of pride in the fact that the first Americans outside the city who were able to extend relief and help were the officers and enlisted men of the garrison and the ships in the immediate neighborhood of San Francisco. The alertness, the instant response to the demand made upon them, the mixture of self-reliant initiative with orderly obedience and coherence of action, the high personal valor and the steady endurance and strength shown by the soldiers and sailors of the Regular Army and Navy in coping with this disaster, were as great as if shown in time of battle. Such a record should make every true American proud of the Army and the Navy, and should make every true American resolute to see that through our national authorities at Washington we make such provision by law for the maintenance, the support, and the training of the Army and the Navy that they shall ever stand in the forefront of their respective professions.

AT HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE, HAMPTON, VA., MAY 30, 1906

I can assure you that Hampton can not have been more anxious to have a visit from me than I have been to visit Hampton. If there is any work in which every decent American in or out of office must believe, it is the work that you are doing here.

What I am going to say to you to-day is only to repeat certain homely rules of life which are so homely and so plain that there ought to be no neces-

sity to repeat them. But homely truths are the ones that are apt to be forgotten and to need repetition.

The first one that I will repeat is that a school like this, which strives to raise colored men and colored women (I will have something to say of the Indian men and women later)—strives to make of them better men and better women and better citizens—such a school is also pre-eminently for the interest of white men and white women. There is nothing that can be done more to the interest of the white men and women who live side by side with the colored than to train the colored to be good citizens. In every community it is for the interest of every man,—and when I say man I, of course, mean woman too—no matter what his color, to have every other man, no matter what his color, a good citizen.

The safety of the white man is to have the colored man grow to be a good and decent man. From the standpoint of the white man, the safest thing is for him to have the colored man become thrifty, industrious, a good home-maker, and a good home-keeper. Never yet has there been a formidable quantity of criminals from a people or a locality where the average type was a good home-maker and home-keeper. So, from the standpoint of the white man, there is nothing better than to give the colored man the real training which he gets here and in similar institutions.

From the standpoint of the colored man, the only real way to help him is to help him to help himself.

In the long run in this world no man can be helped in any other way. Every one sometimes stumbles. You can help him up, but you can't help him by carrying him. He has got to learn to walk himself. What this institution is doing is to teach just that.

You are going to find things not all smooth as you go out into life. Life is not all smooth for any of us. For you it is not as smooth as it is for some; but the only way to make it easier and better for yourselves, for your children, and for your children's children, is to put into practice in your actual life the precepts you have been taught here. When once, in any given locality, the average colored man becomes thrifty, law-abiding, and industrious, recognized to be a good, intelligent worker and a desirable neighbor, you may rest assured that you have taken the only step that ever can be taken to do away with race antagonism. That colored man helps his race most who helps teach his people to conduct themselves with self-respect as law-abiding, intelligent, hard-working citizens.

It is the homely virtues that count in the long run. No race, no nationality, ever really raises itself by the exhibition of genius in a few; what counts is the character of the average man and average woman. If you can develop in the average colored citizen the traits of courage, truthfulness, the sense of obligation in contracts, willingness to work, the desire to act decently, you have taken the longest step toward gaining for your race respect—self-

respect and the respect of others which follows in its train.

In saying this I am not advancing a theory, but I am appealing to invariable experience in the past, notably to the experience of this very institution of Hampton. If I remember rightly, you have sent out from here something like six thousand graduates and undergraduates, and so few of them have gone hopelessly wrong that of all the number only two have been recorded as criminals. That fact is an all-sufficient answer to the blind people who say that no good will come from educating the negro. So far is this from the truth that it may be said that the only hope for the negro—as also for the white man—is education, if we understand the word education in its proper sense. Most emphatically I say that education is not the turning out of people who can read, write, and cipher and yet do nothing practical. Some of the best educated people I know —using the word with reference to the work they have to do—read but little and write not any too well; but they can do their work right up to the handle. If I were asked on the other hand to pick out the uneducated men of the community, I should include a great many, white as well as colored, who have learned how to read and write, and have thought that that fact excused them from learning how to earn their own livelihood and become good citizens. Any education that teaches that reading, writing, and ciphering are everything is a misfortune to black, white, or red.

You girls, if you don't learn to become good housewives, and, if you marry, to be good helpmeets to your husbands, good mothers to your children, then you are not well educated, no matter what else you know.

You men, if you learn all that any institution can teach you of books and yet are not able to turn your hands to usefulness, to earn your own livelihood, to be of use to yourselves and to society at large, then you are not well educated, no matter how many academic prizes you take; and this is as true of white men as of colored.

It is a significant thing that, during the period covered by the life of Hampton Institute, while we have seen the growth of industrial schools for the colored people, we have also seen an extraordinary growth in agricultural and industrial schools for whites. We are beginning—just beginning—to realize as a nation that we can't afford to believe that we can eliminate from education the training of the hand to work with and under the head. It is often said that the true place of the negro is in industrial work. Yes, that is true; true of the average negro; and no less true of the average white man. And we shall not get our civilization on a true basis until we root out from the minds of the average man and the average woman—of any color—the idea that to be a poor clerk is better than to be a first-class handworker, a first-class machinist, or first-class agricultural laborer.

The wrong twist that has been given to our edu-

cation in the past is greatly responsible for the very unhealthy development of our cities at the expense of the country. Never in the past has any nation been permanently great whose city population has become abnormal in size as compared with the country, for the people of the farms conserve certain qualities which those who dwell in the great, swollen cities tend to lose.

If there is one thing I wish to emphasize more than another it is this, to advise as many of you as can to work upon the farm, that with the idea and purpose to eventually own your own farm. Take up agricultural work. In doing this you will be doing what, more and more, the most intelligent and advanced white people are growing to recognize as necessary for their own race.

The growth of agricultural colleges has become one of the significant features of educational work for the white race in nearly every State in the Union, because more and more it is realized that the trade of the farmer must be developed scientifically; so that on the one hand the profession of agriculture may become more and more attractive to men of brains, and on the other hand even more clearly recognized as the one profession the failure to develop which would mean that the development of all the rest of the professions would count but little.

This great continent of ours can go forward in the long run only if there is the right kind of population in it. Cities play a great part in it, and as city people are more able to talk for themselves there

is no danger of our forgetting what part they play. But as for the country people's part, there is danger of our forgetting it; and yet their part is the most important of all.

Now, in closing, just remember these facts:

First: The trend of our civilization is more and more to recognize and put weight upon the vital part played by the manual worker, by the man who actually works with his hands, whether in the workshop or on the farm. Things are more and more going to shape themselves so that he shall have full recognition; not that there should ever be recognition of a laboring man's right to be lazy or envious, but of the right on his part to the respectful recognition by every one of the importance of the work that he does. It is the work of the man who works with his hands which counts for the most in the end, provided that that handwork is directed by an intelligent brain. Instead of striving, as we have so often done in the past, to divide the work of the brain from the work of the hand, more and more our effort must be to keep the handworker as a handworker, but to make him work with his brains too; so that the majority of our people will naturally turn to handwork, but will do it in conjunction with the best kind of mental effort.

I want to see the colored man share in the benefits of this movement. He can do this only by becoming the best, most intelligent kind of handworker himself, and, above all, by becoming this kind of handworker on the farm, working for

others first, but ultimately for himself; ultimately owning and tilling his own farm.

Second: The next thing for you to remember is that the greatness of any nation, the success of any race, must always, in the last analysis, depend upon the kind of home life, of family life, to be found in its average family group. If it has the right type of home life it will be successful; if not, nothing else can avail to bring real success. Let every man and woman, every boy and girl here, keep this in mind: that the true success of your people must come in developing and raising family life; so that the average husband and the average son shall be of the best type of respectable, hard-working, intelligent bread-winners; the average mother and the average daughter be the fitting helpmeets of the men, able to make the home attractive, and of such character that the race shall be elevated, generation by generation.

And I am certain that all who admire as I do the work of Hampton will agree with me that great as has been its work for the development of the mind, great as has been its work for the training of the hand in the work of the farm and the shop and the home, the work that has counted most is the training that Hampton gives to character. The most important thing of all is character. I mean not only that which makes you good, but that which makes you strong; which makes you not only careful not to offend others, but possessors of a rugged strength to better yourselves and others.

While I have been speaking to the colored people, what I have said applies just as much to the Indian; and indeed just as much to white people. I don't know any code of morality, I don't know any words of advice, which can be put advantageously to one race alone. Character is not a thing that depends upon race characteristics any more than the ability to perform manual labor. If you are worthless, you are worthless, whatever your color. There is one distinction to be made. Remember that while a good man of your race may help any other race as well as his own, a bad man of your race is infinitely worse for your race than for any other. A negro criminal, no matter at whose expense the particular crime may be committed, is a hundredfold more dangerous to the negro race than he is to the white race; because his criminality tends to arouse race animosity and the bitter prejudices from which not only he but his whole race will suffer.

In the interest of the colored folk, see to it, every colored man here, that you war against criminality in your own race with peculiar zeal; because in the ultimate analysis it is a greater danger to your own race than to any other.

I ask then, you colored people, that you show the same virtues that the white people must show if they are to be good citizens; to remember that it is good to have a trained mind, that it is better to have also a trained body to work under the direction of the trained mind, and that it is better than all to have a good and strong character.

In the name of the people of the United States, I say Godspeed to Hampton because it has developed and is developing character, not only to benefit its pupils of the colored and Indian races, but to benefit all the people among whom they go out.

I congratulate you upon your work and upon your opportunity here, and I charge you not only for the sake of Hampton, but for the sake of your country and for the sake of your own races to use aright the opportunity that has been given you.

AT THE DINNER TO ASSOCIATE JUSTICE BROWN, MAY 31, 1906

Mr. Chairman; Mr. Chief Justice; and you, our Guest:

It is sometimes a good thing to be heard first. It is always a good thing to have the right to speak last. That right belongs to the Supreme Court. The President and the Congress are all very well in their way. They can say what they think they think, but it rests with the Supreme Court to decide what they have really thought.

Mr. Justice, we have come here to-night to pay the just homage due to you for your work on the bench, to thank you on behalf of the people of the United States for what you have done, and to wish you in your time of well-earned and well-deserved rest, many, many, happy years. There is but one thing better than the right to do honorable service, and that is the right to rest after the honorable service has been well done. And, Mr. Justice, it

has been your great good fortune to earn the right to both.

In all the world, and I think, gentleman, you will acquit me of any disposition to needless flattery, there is no body of men of equal numbers that possesses the dignity and power combined that inhere in that court over which, Mr. Chief Justice, you preside. Owing to the peculiar construction of our government the man who does his full duty on that court must of necessity be not only a great jurist but a great constructive statesman. It has been our supreme good fortune as a Nation that we have had on that court from the beginning to the present day men who have been able to carry on in worthy fashion the tradition which has thus made it incumbent upon the members of the court to combine in such fashion the qualities of the great jurist and of the constructive statesman. There has been at times criticism of the court. Mr. Chief Justice, in this country, I think it would be impossible to name any office or officer, any institution, any man or body of men, of whom it is not true that there has been criticism. And I think that those among us who have been in public life will be the first to say that while the criticism may not be always just, yet that it is always a good thing that the possibility of it should exist, and that the criticism should at times be exercised.

It is astonishing how much any one can profit even by unjust criticism; and so I am not going to waste sympathy upon the Supreme Court, because

it occasionally in this manner shares the fate of our common humanity.

But, Mr. Justice, I need not tell you that the criticism is in the minds of our people a very small and trivial thing compared with the deep reverence felt for the body of which you have been so distinguished a member. Here again I state but the bare truth when I say that I know no other body, here or abroad, as to which there is such a consensus of opinion both here and abroad as to the respect, the reverence, in which it is rightfully held. I should think but ill of you if you failed to realize the importance attaching to each decision of yours, because in all the world there is no say-so of any similar body of men which carries the weight—the weight of power and the weight of gladly rendered and enforced respect—which your decisions carry.

Mr. Justice, we Americans are sometimes accused of paying too much heed to mere material success, to the success which is measured only by the acquisition of wealth. I do not think that that accusation is well-founded. A great deal of notoriety attaches and must attach to any man who acquires a great fortune. If he acquires it well and uses it well he is entitled to and should receive the same meed of credit that attaches to any other man who uses his talents for the public good.

But if you will turn to see those whom in the past the Nation has delighted to honor, and those in the present whom it delights to honor, I think that you will all agree that this Nation is sound at bottom

in the bestowal of its admiration in the relative estimate it puts upon the different qualities of the men who achieve prominence by rendering service to the public. The names that stand out in our history in the past are the names of the men who have done good work for the body politic; and in the present the names of those whom this people really hold in highest honor are the names of the men who have done all that was in them in the best and most worthy fashion. In no way is it possible to deserve better of the Republic than by rendering sane, honest, clear-sighted service on the bench, and above all on the highest bench of this country.

Mr. Justice, it has been your supreme good fortune to do that work, to render that service, to make us all your debtors by the part you have played in the greatest court of this or any other land. On behalf of the people, I thank you for your past and wish you well in the future.

AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF HOWARD UNIVERSITY, JUNE 1, 1906

Mr. President; Ladies and Gentlemen; and you in particular, Members of the Graduating Class:

What I have to say will be largely to supplement what Congressman Burton has said and to emphasize one or two points that he made. In speaking to any body of graduates, I always feel like laying particular stress upon two points. The first point is the necessity that the graduate shall have high ideals;

and the next point is that those ideals shall be practical, so that it is possible to come measurably near living up to them. I always distrust a sermon in which there is insistence upon a line of conduct which can not possibly be achieved, because I feel that those who most enjoy such a sermon on Sunday are apt to be those who live farthest away from it on week days. We must insist upon high ideals. If there is not such a high standard set before us then indeed will our fall be miserable. We are never going to come quite up to the standard, and it is necessary that the standard should be raised aloft. My plea is that it should not be raised so far aloft as to make us feel the minute that we come to apply ourselves practically that there is not any use of striving after it at all. I want to see in the breast of each man and each woman here on the stage, of each man and each woman here in the audience, the firm purpose to strive after what is high and honorable, and at the same time a practical realization of the difficulties to be encountered, which will make you have before you something to which you hope you can measurably attain.

I want each man here who is graduating, each girl here who is graduating, to feel that in the first place he or she must be able to keep himself or herself. You men here, who are going into the law, into medicine, you who are going to teach, your first duty is to achieve so much of material success as will enable each of you to keep himself and to be a help and not a burden to those closest dependent

upon him. Probably there are several of your number to whose families your college years have meant considerable self-denial so that the son could get the advantages of education. The man to whom so much of practical family affection has been given owes it not only to himself but to those who must be far dearer than himself, to achieve the material success that will justify their self-sacrifice as well as his effort. I would not for one moment say to any man that he must not regard material success. On the contrary, he must regard it. The material well-being must be the foundation-stone in his career; he must pull his own weight first before he can be of use to any one else. If you are not able to help yourself, to keep yourself in food, clothing, shelter, to keep those dependent upon you in food, clothing, shelter, you can not possibly help any one else. On the contrary, you will be a burden upon others. Therefore, you can not afford to neglect the duty of providing for yourself the material success which is indispensable if you are to count as an element of help in the lives of those to whom you owe most. I do not wish to see any college graduate leave an institution like this with his eyes so firmly fixed upon the stars that he forgets that he has got to walk on the ground.

There must be in the first place the foundation of successful effort, the ability to earn a little more than your keep, before you can count for anything else in life. So much for the purely practical side

of idealism; that is, the foundation. Without that as a foundation you can no more build a superstructure than you could erect this building if you did not have a foundation. There are any number of utterly foolish people, who pride themselves upon being practical people, who think the foundation is all. If there was only a foundation here you could not form any idea of what building might be put upon it; it might not be at all like a church. So with the character of every man, he must have as a basis the foundation of material success; but that is only the beginning, and if on that he builds badly it would be better that the foundation had never been laid. If he builds ill on the foundation, then it would be better that he had not had in him the power to achieve material success at all. 'As soon as you have achieved that measure of success which means your ability to hold your own, then you are false to the teachings of your alma mater, you are false to every worthy tradition of the social and religious life, if you do not in good faith turn to with the resolute effort to make those who are not as well off as you are a little bit better because of the exceptional opportunities that you have enjoyed. You can render that service in more than one way, and there are several indispensable ways in which you must render it if it is to be rendered at all. 'And mind you, when one speaks the deepest truths, they are bound to be so homely that they almost seem trite in the repetition. The first indispensable prerequisite to bettering your fellows is to better

those that are nearest to you in everyday life. I have a profound distrust for the individual with the philanthropic longing to do good to mankind at large, whose own wife and children do not first experience the effects of that philanthropy. The first and most important field in which to show your fealty to a high ideal is in the field of the family. If the man is a good husband, son, father, if the woman is a good wife, mother, daughter, neither has accomplished all, but each has gone a good way toward it, each has taken the most important step toward it.

To you on this platform much has been given, and from you rightfully much will be expected. I was pleased to hear Congressman Burton dwell with such emphasis upon the fact that it is not the college days that are happiest, just, Mr. Burton, as I was glad to hear you dwell with even greater emphasis upon the praise of honest effort, whether it is crowned or not with what we call success. There are exceptions, of course, but, speaking generally, it is not true that the college days are the happiest, just as it is not true of any really worthy man or woman that, looking back on life, he or she will say that the times were happiest when there was least to do. The highest law of life is the law of worthy effort. The greatest chance that can come to man or woman is the chance to do something worth doing. You have not the right stuff in you if you look back at the easy or effortless days as being the days that were happiest. The days that are happy are the

hard days out of which you win triumph, the hard days where effort is crowned at the end.

I have spoken to you to-night simply as I should speak to any body of American college graduates. Yet each of you has an additional responsibility to bear beyond the responsibility that every college graduate in this land must bear. You are those of your race to whom most has been given, and in addition to the burden of honorable obligation resting upon you as educated American citizens, to do your duty by the commonwealth, rests the burden of honorable obligation so to carry yourselves that your lives may be a guide and an inspiration to all of the people of your race, that your lives may justify your race in the eyes of the American people. The rights of each man are important, but his duties are more important still. If the duties are well done, sooner or later in a time to be measured only by the inscrutable working of Providence, the rights will take care of themselves. And, oh, my fellow-citizens, I ask of each of you the fullest and most generous performance of duty in accordance with the highest sense of obligation toward your Creator and toward your brethren, not only for the sake of our nation as a whole, but for the sake of that portion of our nation which belongs to your own race in particular.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JUNE 4, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the report of Mr. James Bronson Reynolds and Commissioner Charles P. Neill, the special committee whom I appointed to investigate into the condition in the stock yards of Chicago and report thereon to me. This report is of a preliminary nature. I submit it to you now because it shows the urgent need of immediate action by the Congress in the direction of providing a drastic and thoroughgoing inspection by the Federal Government of all stock yards and packing houses and of their products, so far as the latter enter into interstate or foreign commerce. The conditions shown by even this short inspection to exist in the Chicago stock yards are revolting. It is imperatively necessary in the interest of health and of decency that they should be radically changed. Under the existing law it is wholly impossible to secure satisfactory results.

When my attention was first directed to this matter an investigation was made under the Bureau of Animal Industry of the Department of Agriculture. When the preliminary statements of this investigation were brought to my attention they showed such defects in the law and such wholly unexpected conditions that I deemed it best to have a further immediate investigation by men not connected with the Bureau, and accordingly appointed

Messrs. Reynolds and Neill. It was impossible under the existing law that satisfactory work should be done by the Bureau of Animal Industry. I am now, however, examining the way in which the work actually was done.

Before I had received the report of Messrs. Reynolds and Neill I had directed that labels placed upon any package of meat-food products should state only that the carcass of the animal from which the meat was taken had been inspected at the time of slaughter. If inspection of meat-food products at all stages of preparation is not secured by the passage of the legislation recommended I shall feel compelled to order that inspection labels and certificates on canned products shall not be used hereafter.

The report shows that the stock yards and packing houses are not kept even reasonably clean, and that the method of handling and preparing food products is uncleanly and dangerous to health. Under existing law the National Government has no power to enforce inspection of the many forms of prepared meat-food products that are daily going from the packing houses into interstate commerce. Owing to an inadequate appropriation the Department of Agriculture is not even able to place inspectors in all establishments desiring them. The present law prohibits the shipment of uninspected meat to foreign countries, but there is no provision forbidding the shipment of uninspected meats in interstate commerce, and thus the avenues of interstate commerce are left open to traffic in

diseased or spoiled meats. If, as has been alleged on seemingly good authority, further evils exist, such as the improper use of chemicals and dyes, the Government lacks power to remedy them. A law is needed which will enable the inspectors of the General Government to inspect and supervise from the hoof to the can the preparation of the meat-food product. The evil seems to be much less in the sale of dressed carcasses than in the sale of canned and other prepared products; and very much less as regards products sent abroad than as regards those used at home.

In my judgment the expense of the inspection should be paid by a fee levied on each animal slaughtered. If this is not done, the whole purpose of the law can at any time be defeated through an insufficient appropriation; and whenever there was no particular public interest in the subject it would be not only easy but natural thus to make the appropriation insufficient. If it were not for this consideration I should favor the Government paying for the inspection.

The alarm expressed in certain quarters concerning this feature should be allayed by a realization of the fact that in no case, under such a law, will the cost of inspection exceed 8 cents per head.

I call special attention to the fact that this report is preliminary, and that the investigation is still unfinished. It is not yet possible to report on the alleged abuses in the use of deleterious chemical compounds in connection with canning and preserv-

ing meat products, nor on the alleged doctoring in this fashion of tainted meat and of products returned to the packers as having grown unsalable or unusable from age or from other reasons. Grave allegations are made in reference to abuses of this nature.

Let me repeat that under the present law there is practically no method of stopping these abuses if they should be discovered to exist. Legislation is needed in order to prevent the possibility of all abuses in the future. If no legislation is passed, then the excellent results accomplished by the work of this special committee will endure only so long as the memory of the committee's work is fresh, and a recrudescence of the abuses is absolutely certain.

I urge the immediate enactment into law of provisions which will enable the Department of Agriculture adequately to inspect the meat and meat-food products entering into interstate commerce and to supervise the methods of preparing the same, and to prescribe the sanitary conditions under which the work shall be performed. I therefore commend to your favorable consideration and urge the enactment of substantially the provisions known as Senate amendment No. 29 to the act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, as passed by the Senate, this amendment being commonly known as the Beveridge amendment.

AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE NATIONAL CATHEDRAL SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 6, 1906

Bishop; Students:

I have three or four things that I want to say to you, largely suggested by reading a couple of books, of one of which, Bishop, I have more than once spoken to you—books by President Hyde, of Bowdoin College. The first is a remarkable philosophical study called "From Epicurus to Christ"; the other of an entirely different type, called "The College Man and College Woman," but both of them dealing in part with the ethical side of the man and the woman that we see about us—that is, dealing with conduct; both of them books that, in my judgment, will benefit every man and woman, every boy and girl approaching manhood and womanhood who cares to read them; and in reading them you will see that the two essential points which the author develops in applying his lessons are, first, a high ideal, and, secondly, sanity in realizing that high ideal.

If there is one thing with which I have no sympathy, it is with the type of oration very frequently delivered to graduating classes, sometimes, I regret to say, delivered from pulpits, which preaches an ideal so fantastic that those listening listen with a merely intellectual pleasure, and without the slightest intention of trying in real life to realize it. To preach an ideal like that does not do good; it does harm; for it is an evil thing to teach people that

precept and practice have no close relation. The moment that any person grows to believe that the abstract conception of conduct is not in any real way to be approached in actual life, that person has received serious harm. I do not intend to preach anything to you, especially to you who are graduating, to you who in the next two or three years will graduate, that I do not believe you can live up to in practice if only you in good faith do your best. I want you to have ideals that you can achieve, and yet ideals that shall mean on your part a steady spiritual life within you if you try to reach them. I want you to have your eyes on the stars, but remember that your feet are on the ground; and never to let yourselves get into the frame of mind which accepts the abstract deification of certain attributes in theory as an excuse for falling far short in actual life of what you can actually accomplish.

You scholars, although you have had very real troubles and difficulties, have nevertheless been to a large extent sheltered; but now you are about to come out into the great world where each of you, no matter how well supported by those nearest and dearest, will henceforth have to stand more or less by herself. Now I do not pity you because you will have harder times ahead of you than you have had in the past. No man or woman worthy of being called a true man or woman prizes life merely so far as it means absence of pain and effort. On the contrary, the thing that makes life worth while is the active achievement of the things worth achiev-

ing; and this is just as true of the woman as it is of the man; and this means that the highest happiness can only normally come to those who face toil and effort and sorrow. Each one of you here knows that her mother has had at times a pretty hard time of it with her and her sisters and brothers; and, parenthetically, if there is any one of you that does not realize that, then, for Heaven's sake, let her realize it at once. Let her understand how much she owes to her mother. Let her realize that the life in the family circle, which is usually shaped predominately for good or for evil by the mother even more than by the father, of necessity means, if it is a worthy life, a life both of effort and of self-sacrifice; that it means a life of constant renunciation, sometimes of big pleasures, sometimes of little pleasures—not the occasional spectacular renunciation which receives praise, but the endless renunciation in which the person benefited may never know that the other has renounced any pleasure at all. Yet the life of renunciation and effort which most of you will be called on to lead will nevertheless contain more real happiness than any life of mere self-indulgence could ever give.

In forming lofty ideals as to what you are going to do in great crises, remember that the only possible way by which any one of you can fit herself to meet a great crisis is by doing all of the ordinary humdrum work-a-day duties as those work-a-day duties arise. I am speaking this to you, but it does not apply only to you. It applies to every man and

every woman who counts in the world. It applies just as much to the Bishop, to the Admiral, to General Wilson there, as it does to any one of you.

Admiral, think what an inestimable thing it is to have won the right to stand as a man to whom I naturally turn when I wish to illustrate by example the traits of character that the American should show if America is to be what it shall and will be made. When the time of crisis came, when that great day in May came, when the Admiral went into Manila, it was all-essential to have at the head the man who had the courage, the self-reliance, the thorough professional knowledge, the ability, to grasp the fleeting moment. But those qualities would have counted for little if not only the Admiral, but a great many other people, had not for a long period of years done their full duty day by day in ordinary humdrum fashion. We had the fleet, we had the ships, because the men who had worked in the navy-yards, in the shipyards, in the gun foundries, had worked well and faithfully; because the inventors had done their part; because the men who employed the laborers had done their part; because the wage-workers who worked with their hands had done their part. We won out partly because we had as leader the man who in time of crisis possessed the character that enabled him to rise level to that crisis; but even more because a great number of men had each through a long course of years steadily done his plain duty.

It is just exactly the same with each of you. You

are going to be happy and add to the happiness of others, or are going to be the reverse of happy yourselves and a source of unhappiness to others, primarily as you do or do not perform faithfully and regularly the ordinary commonplace duties of life. I do not want any one of you to be primarily concerned with saving her own soul. Look out for the souls and bodies around you, and the salvation of your own soul will come in incidentally. Do your duty to your neighbor; try to serve him or her effectively; try to help him in body, try to help him in soul; and you will thereby help your own soul far more effectively than if you spend your time in morbid self-searchings about merely your own soul. Practice steadily the doctrine of useful service for others, and above all for those nearest you.

Keep steadily before you the ideal of homely duty well performed. Let your ideal be one of service toward others; but of service rendered in a spirit of entire self-respect. The first lesson for any one to learn is the lesson of unselfishness, of thoughtfulness for others, of effort to do what is best and most pleasant for others. Yet even this unselfishness can do, in the long run, no good to other people if you fail in good sense, if you grow weak or morbid or do not preserve your own self-respect. The mother does not do her daughter, still less her son, any real good by permitting her or him to grow up disregardful of others; to grow up so when the boy is passed onward to a family of his own, he becomes a selfish husband, because a kindly, loving, foolish woman

has brought him up to be a selfish son. If a girl is querulous, peevish, selfish, she is unbearable in her family. But she must not make the mistake of letting her brother grow up selfish and unbearable in his turn because she lacks self-respect. If she does, remember he will not like her any the better for it. He will merely despise her.

Now if you take what I have said in the last few sentences by themselves and twist them just a little, you will get an absolutely false idea of what I mean. But if you take them as I mean them to be taken, teaching insistence upon self-respect, insistence upon others showing unselfishness also, as a corollary to your first duty of you yourself showing unselfishness and self-abnegation, you will develop a rounded character and capacity to do good such as you can not possibly develop in any other fashion.

You mothers are not doing good to daughter or son, you are doing harm, and the greatest harm, to them if you fail to bring them up to realize that the world is a rough world; that they will not find it an easy thing to get along in it; that they will have to struggle, to fight, to hold their own; and yet that it is their prime duty to consider others no less than themselves. Above all teach that the first duty is to the family and within it; and that the greatest success, the highest happiness, comes only through the right type of family life.

I have told you that I abhor peculiarly the preaching of an ideal so fantastic as to be unrealizable. That applies to speaking of your proper appreciation

of material things. What I am about to say is less important if said to woman than if said to man, but it is very important for her, also, to remember. You need a basis of material well-being. You need a certain amount of the world's goods, a certain amount of money, or of what money represents; you need that as the foundation, in order that upon it you may develop a higher life. No father or mother is doing his or her duty if he or she tells young people entirely to disregard such considerations. You must have enough to be free from want, to be able to keep in comfort those that are dear to you. You fathers and mothers wish to see pleasant surroundings for your children; to be able to give them education; so that they may have attention when sick; receive shelter, food, clothing, books. All this is indispensable up to a certain point. No man is to be excused if he does not devote the bulk of his energies chiefly to earning a livelihood for those dependent upon him, as the woman is not to be excused if she does not devote herself to so using the money thus earned as to make it most valuable for the members of the family, up to the point when the real material needs have been met. But after you have reached that point, my deliberate judgment is that happiness in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred lies in some other direction than the mere amassing of additional wealth. Very wealthy men sometimes play a useful part in the community; but they very rarely indeed play as useful a part as those men whose life effort takes a different shape;

or as those men whose life effort is expended in altogether different fields from the fields of mere money-getting. Up to a certain point the essential thing for any young couple is that there shall be enough money. After that point is once reached, money becomes a minor element; and as they grow richer it becomes a steadily less important element in the sum total of things that make for happiness, and finally it vanishes altogether; and then to heap riches on riches is merely an evil.

You scholars gain greatly in mind by the education you receive. You are benefiting your minds; but after all the chief gain from the school, as from the home, as from the church, comes by the development of character. I hope to see each of you healthy in body; I hope to see each of you with sound and well-trained mind; but most of all I hope to see you develop that which counts for more than body, for more than mind—character. I hope to see you develop not merely the passive, but the active virtues. I do not mean that you are not to have a good time. I believe in each man and each woman getting all the enjoyment possible out of life, subject only to such enjoyment not interfering with the more important things of life. Get all the pleasure you can that is consistent with not shirking your duties. In developing character, remember that while you need to develop the negative virtues, the virtues that make you easy to live with, that make you not actually do anything wrong to any one else, yet that those virtues are not enough.

The ordinary qualities that a man needs to display are not the ordinary qualities that a woman needs to display; but in the great crises, in the times of great stress, each must show the traits that he or she prizes in the other. The man must have in him a fund of sweetness and unselfishness; and the woman must have in her the courage and the strength that she will surely need if she is to do her duty aright in life under the trials that will surely befall us as we go our way through the world.

AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF GEORGETOWN COLLEGE, JUNE 14, 1906

Mr. President; Students:

It is a real pleasure to be here in this ancient, historic institution of learning to-day. Georgetown is just one year older than the Constitution of the United States. It was founded here by Archbishop Carroll, himself bearing one of the great historic names of the Revolution; and from President Washington down, every President, with the exception of two, has come here to greet you. Washington was presented with an address of welcome by one of the students, whose children, grandchildren, and now a great-grandchild, have since come here. That boy of Washington's time is now represented here by his descendant in the fourth generation.

I have only one or two things that I want to say to you who are graduating to-day. I have listened with genuine interest and pleasure to the three addresses. In this institution I know that while you

lay the full stress you ought to lay upon learning, upon the training of the intellect, yet you appreciate that even more important than intellect is character; that while your intelligence is going to be a great factor in your success, yet it is your character which will be an even greater factor in the success of each of you, and which will be the all-important factor in deciding whether that success shall be a service to your countrymen or not. You might gain the kind of personal triumph which some people would consider a success and yet which would merely make you a curse to your countrymen. We must depend upon the development of your individual characters to see that such is not the case, and that when you triumph for yourselves you triumph also in ways that redound to the advantage of the country at large. I never believe in preaching an impossibly high ideal, because I do not wish to see any young man leave college feeling that the ideal is merely a thing to be spoken about, written about, talked about in conventional fashion; that it is something entirely different and apart from conduct. Your ideals do you no good unless you measurably realize them in your conduct. No institution of learning should fail to make its pupils understand that their conduct under the strain and stress of life is the measure of their success in applying the ideals that have been held up to them. Of course it is unnecessary to say that you who graduate from an institution such as this bear a peculiarly heavy burden of moral obligation. To you much has been given. You enter

life with privileges denied to most of your fellows; and therefore we have a right to expect from you a peculiar measure of service to society, to the state, in return.

Of course the first duty of each of you is to earn his own livelihood. You will not find it too easy, either. Your first business is to be a help and not a burden upon those who have helped put you through, or who have entirely put you through, this institution of learning. That is your first duty. I do not want you to go out so intent upon reforming the world that you are quite unable to keep your own heads above water. Remember that your power of doing good to others is conditioned upon your not being a burden to others. First be able to hold your own in the world. But if you make that the be-all and end-all of your existence, better never come to a university like this at all. Treat it merely as laying the foundation of your life; and upon that foundation of self-help, of self-service, raise the lofty structure of service for your fellows, of service to the State, of service to the community as a whole.

Remember each of you younger men here (what I think the older men do not need to be told) that the chance for heroic endeavor of a rather spectacular kind does not often count; that the man who really counts in this life is not the man who thinks how well he could do some bit of heroism if the chance arose, but the man who actually does the humdrum work-a-day, every-day duties as those

duties arise. The very first thing to do is to do your duty in the family, in the home. No amount of loftiness of aspiration for the welfare of mankind in general will in the least atone if, as a matter of fact, your mothers and sisters are glad when you are out of the house; if your fathers spend their time wondering what work they can find that you will consent to try. Whatever your work is, do it well; and then by degrees, without your hunting for them, the chances will of themselves arise for each of you to do far more than the commonplace duties, to do the kind of work which our educated men in this Republic must do if the Republic is to rise level to the standard set for it by its fathers and founders.

It is a happy coincidence that your commencement comes on Flag Day, on the day when we pay especial honor to the symbol of our national existence. Georgetown, which has sent its proportion of soldiers to the country whenever the country called for it, must remember that duty just as high can be done in time of peace as in time of war. We have plenty of evil to combat in this Republic, and the success of the fight that we wage against it is going in large part to depend upon the attitude taken by the graduates of our universities whose training should peculiarly help them to leadership in such a fight.

Now, just one word in connection with that fight: Remember always that honesty can never be unilateral. Do not attack the poor man who is dis-

honest, or the rich man who is dishonest as a member of a class; attack him simply because he is dishonest. Wage war relentlessly on every man of wealth who does what is wrong. Attack in every way the iniquity of the corporation which commits iniquity. But remember, you men of education, you men of college training, you to whom we have a right to look for leadership in the generation now taking up its burdens, that you do the greatest possible wrong if you train people to an obliqueness of vision which shall make them condemn wealth instead of condemning crooked wealth; which shall make them fail to see that the real test is honesty as against dishonesty. Condemn the rich man who corrupts a legislature; condemn equally the demagogue who seeks to incite one set of our citizens against another because that other is in the material things of this world more fortunately off. The wealthy corruptionist and the sour demagogue who denounces all wealth, represent, not opposite vices, but the same vices developed under different conditions. The arrogance of the man of wealth who disregards his obligations to the country, who looks down upon and disregards his poorer brother, is not a different feeling from, it is the same feeling as, the envy, hatred, malice, felt by a man of mean and jealous temper who lacks means, for the more fortunate man who has means. The selfish arrogance and the envious hatred are not different qualities; they are simply the two sides of the same foul shield. You can rest assured that the poor man

who thus envies and hates the rich man, the arrogant rich man who looks down upon and disregards his duty toward the poor man, would each commit the faults of the other if fortune placed him in the position of the other.

I was much pleased to-day not only to be able to give degrees, but to give prizes, in at least one case, to students who had evidently been able to develop a thoroughly sound mind in an exceptionally sound body. I believe in athletics; but I believe in them chiefly because of the moral qualities that they display. I am glad to see the boy able to keep his nerve in a close baseball game, able to keep his courage under the punishment of a football game or in a four-mile boat race; because if the boy really amounts to anything and has got the right stuff in him, this means that he is going to keep his nerve and courage in more important things in after life. If your prowess is due simply to the possession of big muscles, it does not amount to much. What counts is the ability to back up the muscles with the right spirit. If you have the pluck, the grit, in you to count in sports, just as if you have the pluck and grit in you to count in your studies, so in both cases it will help you to count in after life. You will not need to show in after life the identical traits of intellect or of bodily prowess which you have shown here in college; but you will need to show the character, the qualities of heart and soul, which enabled you in college to make valuable your intellect or your bodily prowess. When you come out

into after life I can say no more than to wish you to copy the motto which should be the motto of every boy who plays on a college eleven: "Don't flinch, don't foul, and hit the line hard!"

AT OYSTER BAY, N. Y., JULY 4, 1906

Mr. Chairman, and you, my Old Friends and Neighbors, you among whom I was brought up and with whom I have lived for so many years:

It is a real and great pleasure to have the chance of being with you to-day, to say a few words of greeting to you, and in a sense to give an account of my stewardship. I say in a sense, friends, because after all the stewardship really has to give an account of itself. If a man needs to explain overmuch what he has done, it is pretty sure proof that he ought to have done it a little differently; and so as regards most of what I have done I must let it speak for itself.

But there are two or three things about which I want to talk to you to-day; and, if in the presence of the dominies I may venture to speak from a text, I shall take as my text the words of Abraham Lincoln which he spoke in a remarkable little address delivered to a band of people who were serenading him at the White House just after his reelection to the Presidency. He said (I quote from memory only): "In any great national trial hereafter, the men of that day, as compared with those of this, will be as weak and as strong, as silly and as wise, as bad and as good. Let us therefore study the in-

cidents of this as philosophy from which to learn wisdom, and not as wrongs to be avenged." And he added later in the speech a touching and characteristic expression of his, saying, "So long as I have been here, I have not willingly planted a thorn in any man's breast."

Now, friends, remember that Lincoln faced the greatest crisis that this Nation has seen since the Revolutionary War—as great a crisis as the Nation can ever face, for it was a crisis which, accordingly as the result went one way or the other, meant national life or national death; and yet with all his firm resolution of purpose, with all the unbending strength of his will, with all the deep-seated intensity and sincerity of belief which alone could have borne him up through trials such as those he had to face, it was yet possible for him to say with entire truth that he bore no rancor even to those who had gone hopelessly wrong; that while endeavoring ruthlessly to cut out the evil, he yet did his work without hatred to the doer of the evil; that while never for one moment blinding himself to the truth of what was round about him, he yet did not treat anything that was done against him as a wrong to be avenged. He treated the wrong as calling for a remedy, not as calling for vengeance. It is in this spirit that we as a nation, if we possess the power of learning aright the lessons to be taught us by Lincoln's life, will approach our problems of to-day. We haven't the same problems, nor as great problems, as those with which the men of Lincoln's genera-

tion were brought face to face; and yet our problems are real and great, and upon the way in which we solve them will depend whether or not our children have cause to feel pride or shame as American citizens.

If Lincoln and the men of his generation, the men who followed Grant in the field, who upheld the statesmanship of Lincoln himself in the council chamber—if those men had not done their full duty, not a man here would carry his head high as an American citizen. Any work done by any man must largely have its influence, not upon the life of that man, but upon the lives of those coming after him; and just as this was true of the men of Lincoln's generation, so it will be true of those that follow us. We who did not fight in the Civil War have reaped the immeasurable benefit from the courage and self-devotion of those who did fight. Had the grapes they pressed to their lips been sour, our teeth would have been set on edge. Had they shown themselves cowards, our heads would have been bowed in shame. So if we of this generation do our duty when face to face with our special industrial, social, and political problems, our children and children's children shall be the better for it. If we fail in our duty, if you men here of middle life, you men with children, if you fail in your duty, by just so much do you add to the weight of the burdens that your children shall bear. Our duty calls for the exercise of more than one quality on our part. First of all, it calls of course for the qualities

of honesty and courage. I use honesty in the broadest sense—honesty in the sense of disinterested devotion to what is right, disinterested devotion to the ideals of our national life. If we have not those qualities first, then all else shall avail us little. In 1861 the first qualities necessary were those qualities of the heart which made the average loyal citizen resolute that even at the cost of his own life the Union should be preserved, which gave him the power to appreciate what was meant by lofty devotion to an ideal, and the power to put into actual fact that devotion. The man needed to feel the lift of patriotism first; and then he needed the courage to make his patriotism of avail. There are old soldiers in this, as in every other audience that I address, and these men know that first and foremost it was necessary to have the power of love for the Union, of love for the Nation; and that next it was necessary to have the courage to make that love good. I do not care how devoted the old soldier was to the Union, if when the crisis came he ran away, his devotion did not count; and on the other hand no quality of courage availed the man if he had not in him the spur that drove that courage into action, that made that courage of avail to his neighbors. In the same fashion we citizens of these peaceful days need first and foremost the moral quality; and next, back of that moral quality, the courage, moral and physical as well, that makes the moral quality count. Yet these qualities by themselves are not enough. The greatest patriotism and

the greatest courage can be hopelessly marred by folly. None of you are worth anything as citizens, none of you can be worth anything as citizens, if you have not the fund of moral qualities which find expression in love of country, love of neighbors, love of home, which make you honest, decent, clean-living, right-thinking. None of you will be worth anything if in addition to those qualities you haven't the courage, physical and moral, without which no American citizen can do his full duty as a citizen. And yet, back of them and in addition to them we must have the sanity, the common-sense, the just judgment, which neither hysterically over-emphasizes nor blindly refuses to acknowledge the wrongs that exist and the ways in which those wrongs must be cured.

We have heard a great deal during the past year or two of the frightful iniquities in our political and our business life, the frightful wrong-doing in our social life. Now there is plenty of iniquity in business, in politics, in our social life. There is every warrant for our acknowledging these great evils. But there is no warrant for growing hysterical about them. It is a poor trick to spend nine-tenths of the time in saying that there never was such iniquity as is shown in this Nation; and the remaining tenth in saying that we are the most remarkable nation that ever existed. We want to be more careful in blaming ourselves and more careful in praising ourselves. Over-emphasis in praise, as well as over-emphasis in blame, is apt to overreach itself; just as the man

who promises too much—especially on the stump—is apt to strike the balance by performing too little. It is true that there is much evil; but in speaking about it do not let us lose our heads; and above all let us avoid the wild vindictiveness preached by certain demagogues—a vindictiveness as far as the poles asunder from the wise charity of Abraham Lincoln. Let us remember that many of the men who do the things of which we complain, even among those who do the worst, are American citizens with much the same tastes, tempers, and characters as we have, but who have been exposed to special temptations. Of course there are some men who are inherently wicked, and for these only drastic punishment will avail. But very many wrong-doers, especially when the wrong-doing is committed by a whole class, are wrong-doers only through force of circumstances. Try to remove the cause of their wrong-doing; remove as far as may be both the power and the temptation to do wrong; but do not cultivate toward them a spirit of rancorous hatred which in the end will react most surely upon ourselves. War with the evil; but show no spirit of malignity toward the man who may be responsible for the evil. Put it out of his power to do wrong; if necessary punish him where he has done wrong; but do not let this Nation ever get into the frame of mind which, under infinitely greater provocation, Abraham Lincoln strove to prevent its falling into at the time of the Civil War. The poorest of all emotions for any American citizen to feel

is the emotion of hatred toward his fellows. Let him feel a just and righteous indignation where that just and righteous indignation is called for; let him not hesitate to inflict punishment where the punishment is needed in the interest of the public; but let him beware of demanding mere vengeance; and above all of inciting the masses of the people to such demand. Such a demand is alike un-Christian and un-American, and the man who makes it is false to the highest duties, principles, and privileges of American citizenship.

There is wrong enough to fight. Fight it, cut it out; and having cut it out, go your ways without either hatred or exultation over those at whose expense it has been necessary that it should be cut out. There are plenty of wrongs done by men of great means, and there are plenty of wrongs done by men of small means. Another sentence of Abraham Lincoln's which it is well to remember is that "there is a deal of human nature in mankind." If a man possesses a twisted morality he will show that twisted morality wherever he may happen to be. If he is not a man of really twisted morals, but an ordinary happy-go-lucky individual who does not think very deeply, he will often do what ought not to be done if nobody brings home his duty to him, and if the chances are such as to render wrong-doing easy. Show scant mercy to the man of twisted morality; but remember that the second type of wrong-doer stands more in need of the reformatory than the penitentiary.

This year in Congress our chief task has been to carry the Government forward along the course which I think it must follow consistently for a number of years to come—that is, in the direction of seeking, on behalf of the people as a whole through the National Government, which represents the people as a whole, to exercise a measure of supervision, control, and restraint over the individuals and especially over the corporations of great wealth in so far as the business use of that wealth brings it within the reach of the Federal Government. We have accomplished a fair amount, and the reason that we have done so has been in the first place because we have not tried to do too much, and in the next place because we have approached the task absolutely free from any spirit of rancor or hatred. In any such movement a man will find that he has allies whom he does not like. You can not protect property without finding that you are protecting the property of some people who are not very straight. You can not war against the abuses of property without finding that there are some people warring beside you whose motives you would frankly repudiate. But in each case be sure that you keep your own motives and your own conduct straight. When it becomes necessary to curb a great corporation, curb it. I will do my best to help you do it. But I will do it in no spirit of anger or hatred to the men who own or control that corporation; and if any seek in their turn to do wrong to the men of means, to do wrong to the

men who own those corporations, I will turn around and fight for them in defence of their rights just as hard as I fight against them when I think that they are doing wrong.

Distrust as a demagogue the man who talks only of the wrong done by the men of wealth. Distrust as a demagogue the man who measures iniquity by the purse. Measure iniquity by the heart, whether a man's purse be full or empty, partly full or partly empty. If the man is a decent man, whether well off or not well off, stand by him; if he is not a decent man stand against him, whether he be rich or poor. Stand against him in no spirit of vengeance, but only with the resolute purpose to make him act as decent citizens must act if this Republic is to be, and to be kept, what it shall become.

One more word and then—I think you are mighty patient—I will let you go. Remember that the whole is the sum of the parts. It is a very good thing to come out to Fourth of July celebrations and hear what a great country we have. It is a mighty poor thing if, after having felt that glow of pride and virtue, you then go home free from all sense of responsibility to that particular part of the country which is found within the four walls of your own house and in its immediate neighborhood. The way to be good citizens of this Nation, you friends here, is to be good citizens of Oyster Bay. It does not sound quite as inspiriting to be asked to be a good citizen of the village, of the county, as it does to be asked to be a good citi-

zen of the Nation; but you can not be a good citizen of the Nation if you are not, in the first place, a good citizen among your own neighbors. Above all remember that you can not be a good citizen of the town or the county if you are not a good citizen in your own home first. Boy or girl, man or woman, you will not be able to do right outside your own home if you have not got in you the stuff that makes you a decent father or mother, son or daughter, husband or wife, in your own home. If the man who comes to a Fourth of July celebration goes home and so conducts himself that his wife and his children wish beyond anything else that he never did come home, you can guarantee that that man is a poor citizen. It is just the same way with the wife, with the daughter. And now as for the son, for the young fellow growing up, the young fellow with an ambition to make his way in the world. He has got to make that way in the world by his own toil and effort; but it won't be worth the making if those who are nearest and dearest to him do not feel that his life means what is good and happy. Your boys must be trained as they grow up and become men that the man's duty is first to pull his own weight, to be able to make himself a measurable success. It is no use for any man to have lofty aspirations about benefiting mankind if personally he has to depend on his family for support. The man must support himself first, must be able to make his own way; but he must not be contented with doing nothing but make his

own way. He must remember that his every added increment of strength entails an addition of duty and addition of responsibility. First and foremost there is the duty to his own family, that he shall so bear himself in the household as to add to the happiness of those near him, of those who should be dear to him; and if he does not do this, then no matter what he is elsewhere, he is a bad man and a poor citizen. Furthermore, after having done this, then if strength and success come to him year by year in increasing measure, by just so much grows the need that he shall do his duty by his neighbors, by the State, by the Nation as a whole. We can achieve for this Republic the success for which I surely think she is destined only by each of us doing his duty day in and day out, doing his duty in the day of small things, doing his duty in the family, doing his duty in business, his duty to his neighbors, and therefore developing by degrees those qualities which will enable him to do his duty to the Nation as a whole.

There is need of the capacity to do more than the little duties; there is need for each of us to have in him that lofty touch which will make him show the qualities of heroism when the need for heroism arises. But first and foremost there is need that every American citizen should do well the ordinary, humdrum duties of American citizenship if our Nation is to be placed where it shall be placed. There is need, O men and women, that each man and each woman should be in his or her own home

a decent husband or wife, a decent father or mother, a decent son or daughter. And only on condition of showing these qualities in the home, qualities like these in our dealings with our neighbors, in our dealings in our ordinary avocations of life, will it be possible for us to prepare ourselves so that in time of need we may rise, as our fathers rose, level to the call of whatever crisis may trumpet forth the signal for all that there is in us of high resolve and steadfast courage.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
August 18, 1906

MY DEAR MR. WATSON:

I hear, through Speaker Cannon and Representative Sherman, that you have volunteered to give your services to the Congressional Committee for the entire campaign, without regard to the effect it may have upon your canvass in your own district; and I feel like writing you a word of congratulation and of earnest hope for the success of your efforts. If there were only partisan issues involved in this contest I should hesitate to say anything publicly in reference thereto. But I do not feel that such is the case. On the contrary, I feel that all good citizens who have the welfare of America at heart should appreciate the immense amount that has been accomplished by the present Congress organized as it is, and the urgent need of keeping this organization in power. With Mr. Cannon as Speaker, the House has accomplished a literally phenomenal amount of good work. It has shown

a courage, good sense and patriotism such that it would be a real and serious misfortune for the country to fail to recognize. To change the leadership and organization of the House at this time means to bring confusion upon those who have been successfully engaged in the steady working out of a great and comprehensive scheme for the betterment of our social, industrial, and civic conditions. Such a change would substitute a purposeless confusion, a violent and hurtful oscillation between the positions of the extreme radical and the extreme reactionary, for the present orderly progress along the lines of a carefully thought-out policy.

The interests of this Nation are as varied as they are vast. Congress must take account, not of one national need, but of many and widely different national needs; and I speak with historic accuracy when I say that not in our time has any other Congress done so well in so many different fields of endeavor as the present Congress has done. No Congress can do everything. Still less can it, in one session, meet every need. At its first session the present Congress, in addition to the many tasks it actually completed, undertook several tasks which I firmly believe it will bring to completion in its second session next winter. Among these I hope and believe that the bills to prohibit political contributions by corporations, and to lower the duties on imports from the Philippine Islands, each of which has been passed by one House, will be enacted into law. I hope, and I have reason to believe,

that favorable action will be taken on the bill limiting the number of hours of employment of railway employees. These and one or two other measures, the enactment of which I have reason to hope for, are important. But far more important are the measures which have actually been passed, and as to these measures I wish to reiterate that they are not important in a merely partisan sense, but are important because they subserve the welfare of our people as a whole, of our Nation as an entirety. They are important because those who enacted them into law thereby showed themselves to be fit representatives of all good Americans.

In affairs outside of our own country our great work has been beginning to dig the Panama Canal. The acquisition of the canal strip was due to the initiative of Congress; and the fact that the work thereon is now being done in the most thorough and satisfactory fashion is due to the action of the present Congress at the session just closed. Only this action rendered the work possible, and the heartiest acknowledgments are due to the far-seeing patriotism of those who thus made it possible. The digging of the Panama Canal is the colossal engineering feat of all the ages. No task as great of the kind has ever been undertaken by any other nation. The interests banded together to oppose it were and are numerous and bitter, and most of them with a peculiarly sinister basis for their opposition. This sinister opposition rarely, indeed, ventures openly to announce its antagonism to the

canal as such. Sometimes it takes the form of baseless accusation against the management, and of a demand for an investigation under circumstances which would mean indefinite delay. Sometimes it takes the form of determined opposition to the adoption of plans which will enable the work to be done not merely in the best but in the quickest possible way. Had Congress been either timid or corrupt, and had not the leaders of Congress shown the most farsighted resolution in the matter, the work of building the canal would never have been begun, or, if begun, would now have halted. The opposition to the adoption of the treaty by which our right to build the Panama Canal was secured; a part at least of the opposition even now being made to the ratification of the Santo Domingo Treaty, which is one more step in the effort to make peaceful and secure the waters through which the route of the Canal leads; the constant effort to delay, on one pretext and another, the actual work on the canal—all prove how essential it is that if the American people desire the Panama Canal to be built in speedy and efficient fashion they should uphold the hands of those who, in the present Congress, have so effectively championed this work.

No less praiseworthy has been the attitude of this Congress in continuing to build and maintain, on a high plane of efficiency, the United States Navy. This country is irrevocably committed to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. It is irrevocably committed to the principle of defending and policing

the canal route. But its championship of the Monroe Doctrine and its announcement of its intentions as to the canal route would both be absurd on their face if the Nation failed to do its duty in maintaining a thoroughly efficient navy at as high a point of perfection as can possibly be attained.

Our external affairs are important, but our internal affairs are even more important; and no other Congress for many a long year has, as regards the betterment of our internal affairs, so much and such excellent work to its credit. The tremendous social and industrial changes in our Nation have rendered evident the need of a larger exercise by the National Government of its power to deal with the business use of wealth, and especially of corporate wealth, in interstate business. It is not too much to say that the course of Congress within the last few years, and the hearty agreement between the executive and legislative departments of the Nation in taking the needed action each within its own sphere, have resulted in the Nation for the first time definitely entering upon the career of proper performance of duty in these matters. The task is peculiarly difficult, because it is one in which the fanatical or foolish extremist and the reactionary, whether honest or dishonest, play into one another's hands; and they thereby render it especially hard to secure legislative and executive action which shall be thoroughgoing and effective, and yet which shall not needlessly jeopardize the business prosperity which we all share, even though we do not all share it

with as much equality as we are striving to secure. It is a very easy thing to play the demagogue in this matter, to confine one's self merely to denouncing the evils of wealth, and to advocate, often in vague language, measures so sweeping that, while they would entirely fail to correct the evils aimed at, they would undoubtedly succeed in bringing down the prosperity of the Nation with a crash. It is also easy to play the part of the mere obstructionist; to decline to recognize the great evils of the present system, and to oppose any effort to deal with them in rational fashion—thereby strengthening immensely the hands of those who advocate extreme and foolish measures. But it is not easy to do as the present Congress and its immediate predecessors have done; that is, sternly to disregard alike the self-interest of those who have profited by the present evils, and the wild clamor of those who care less to do away with them than to make a reputation with the unthinking of standing in extreme opposition to them. But this is precisely what the present Congress has done. Instead of enacting anti-trust laws which were either so vague or so sweeping as completely to defeat their own objects, it has given us an interstate commerce law which will enable us to exercise in thorough fashion a supervision over the common carriers of this country, so as, while scrupulously safeguarding their proper interests, to prevent them from charging excessive rates; to prevent their favoring one man at the expense of another, and especially a strong man

at the expense of a weak man; and to require them to be fully accountable to the public for the service which, to their own profit, they render the public. The previous Congress, by the enactment of the Elkins law and by the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, including the Bureau of Corporations, had enabled us to make great strides in advance along the path of thus bringing the use of wealth in business under the supervision and regulation of the National Government—for, in actual practice, it has proved a sham and pretence to say that the several States can thus supervise and regulate it. The strides taken by the present Congress have been even longer in the right direction. The enactment of the pure food bill and the passage of the bill which rendered effective the control of the Government over the meat-packing industries are really along the same general line as the passage of the interstate commerce law, and are second only to it in importance.

Perhaps the peculiar merit of these laws is best shown by the fact that while they have aroused the deepest anger of the reactionaries, of the men who make a fetish of wealth, they have not satisfied the unwise extremists; and the present Congress, in achieving this merit, has acted in the exact spirit of Abraham Lincoln, who was never to be frightened out of going forward by the cries of those who feared progress, nor yet to be hurried into a precipitate advance by the demands of the crude-thinking, though often well-meaning, men who

are not accustomed soberly to distinguish between phrase-making and action. To the men who come in the latter category all we need say is to bid them possess their souls in peace. They have advocated action; but we have taken action; and the fact that this action has been sober and temperate has been in no small degree the cause of its far-reaching efficiency. To the former class—to the reactionaries, who seem to fear that to deal in proper fashion with the abuses of property is somehow an attack upon property—we would recall the words of Edmund Burke: "If wealth is obedient and laborious in the service of virtue and public honor, then wealth is in its place and has its use. But if this order is changed and honor is to be sacrificed to the conservation of riches, riches, which have neither eyes nor hands nor anything truly vital in them, can not long survive the well-being of . . . their legitimate masters. . . . If we command our wealth we shall be rich and free. If our wealth commands us we are poor indeed."

In addition to thus dealing with the proper control of capitalistic wealth, Congress has also taken important steps in securing to the wage-workers certain great rights. At the session that has just closed, an employers' liability law was enacted which puts the National Government in its proper place as regards such legislation. An eight-hour law was already on the statute books; but, as is almost inevitable with such laws, there was at first great confusion as to whose duty it was among the different

public officials to enforce it. This confusion has now been remedied, and the law is in process of thorough enforcement. If this enforcement demonstrates the need of additional legislation to make this eight-hour law effective, I shall ask for such legislation. I may add that next year I shall ask Congress to put in the permanent form of law the provision I have made by executive order for securing to the wage-workers under the Government half-holidays during the summer months, just as regular holidays are now secured by law for the salaried clerical workers in the classified service. No Congress has ever more clearly shown its practical appreciation of the fact that the welfare of the wage-workers, and the welfare of the tillers of the soil, make the real basis of the welfare of the Nation as a whole. We will do everything that can be done to further the interests of the farmer and the wage-worker; and this declaration is subject only to one reservation—which is, that for no man, and no body of men, will we do anything that is wrong. Our constant aim is to do justice to every man, and to treat each man as by his own actions he shows that he deserves to be treated. We favor the organization of labor, as we favor the organization of capital; but on condition that organized labor and organized capital alike act in a spirit of justice and fair dealing, and with due regard to both the letter and the spirit of the law. We heartily favor trades unions, and we recognize in them, as in corporations, when properly conducted, indispensable in-

struments in the economic life of the present day; but where either type of organization is guilty of abuse we do not propose to weaken the remedial powers of the Government to deal with such abuse. We are anxious to help, alike by law and by executive action, so far as in our power lies, every honest man, every right-dealing labor union, and, for the matter of that, every right-dealing corporation. But, as a corollary to this, we intend fearlessly and resolutely to uphold the law, and to strengthen it, so that we can put down wrong, whether done by rich or poor; if done by the most powerful corporation or the most influential labor union, just as much as if done by the humblest and least influential individual in the land. The fact that we heartily recognize an organization or a kind of organization as useful will not prevent our taking action to control it or to prevent its committing abuses when it uses in wrong fashion the power which organization confers.

The enactment into law of the bill removing the tax on alcohol used in the arts will ultimately be of marked benefit to us in more ways than one. It shows likewise the entire willingness of those responsible for the handling of the present Congress to alter our revenue system, whether derived by taxation on imports or internal taxation, whenever it is necessary to do so.

We stand unequivocally for a protective tariff, and we feel that the phenomenal industrial prosperity which we are now enjoying is not lightly to

be jeopardized; for it would be to the last degree foolish to secure here and there a small benefit at the cost of general business depression. But whenever a given rate or schedule becomes evidently disadvantageous to the Nation, because of the changes which go on from year to year in our conditions, and where it is feasible to change this rate or schedule without too much dislocation of the system, it will be done; while a general revision of the rates and schedules will be undertaken whenever it shall appear to the sober business sense of our people that, on the whole, the benefits to be derived from making such changes will outweigh the disadvantages; that is, when the revision will do more good than harm. Let me add one word of caution, however. The question of revising the tariff stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the so-called "trusts"—that is, with the control of monopolies and with the supervision of great wealth in business, especially in corporate form. The only way in which it is possible to deal with those trusts and monopolies and this great corporate wealth is by action along the line of the laws enacted by the present Congress and its immediate predecessors. The cry that the problem can be met by any changes in the tariff represents, whether consciously or unconsciously, an effort to divert the public attention from the only method of taking effective action.

I shall not pretend to enumerate all the good measures of less importance which the present Congress has enacted into law, although some of these

measures, as, for instance, the consular bill and the naturalization bill, are of wide-reaching effect. I have said enough to show why, in my judgment, you and your colleagues are entitled to the good wishes of all those American citizens who believe that there are real evils in our industrial and economic system, and that these evils can be effectively grappled with—not by loose declamation, but by resolute and intelligent legislation and executive action.

Sincerely yours, THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. JAMES E. WATSON, M.C.,
Rushville, Ind.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
August 25, 1906

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

A dreadful calamity has befallen our sister republic of Chile in the destruction by earthquake of Valparaiso and other localities. We of this nation at this moment see the city of San Francisco struggling upward from the ruins in which a like catastrophe overwhelmed her last spring. We keep keenly in mind the thankful appreciation we then felt for the way in which the peoples of Europe, Asia, and both Americas came forward with generous offers of assistance. In this time of woe of our sister Republic I ask that our people out of their abundance now strive to do to another as others last spring did to us. The National Red Cross Association has already taken measures to collect any subscriptions that may be offered for this purpose, and I trust that there will be a generous response. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

AT THE BICENTENARY CELEBRATION OF CHRIST CHURCH PARISH, OYSTER BAY, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 8, 1906

Dr. Washburn:

Let me first say again what has been said before, and that is a word of special welcome to our old friends Drs. Geer and Vandewater who are here to-day, and I trust they realize how much it means to us to see them back again.

I have only a word or two to say on this celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the church here at Oyster Bay. I can not understand any American citizen who has the faintest feeling of patriotism and devotion to his country failing to appreciate what Dr. Geer put so well—the absolutely essential need of religion, using it in its broadest and deepest sense, to the welfare of this country. If it were not that in our villages and towns as they have grown up the churches have grown up in them, symbolizing the fact that there were among their foremost workers men whose work was not for the things of the body but for the things of the soul, this would not be a nation to-day; because this country would not be an abode fit for civilized men if it were not true that we put our material civilization, our ma-

terial prosperity, as the base only (a necessary foundation, a necessary base, but only as the base, as the foundation) upon which to build the superstructure of the higher spiritual life.

In listening with the pleasure that we all felt to the address of the Bishop of Long Island I was struck, as I am sure all of us were, by his statement of the mission of the church; of its mission to work not in the interest of one sect only, but of humanity as a whole. Speaking here to-day as a layman, who is not expected to go into any question of dogma, any question of ceremonial, I wish to emphasize the vital importance to this nation of our people being taught to realize that the highest value of Christianity must manifest itself in the conduct of those who profess it.

I shall read four or five verses from the end of the first chapter of James:

"But be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.

"For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass:

"For he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.

"But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed.

"If any man among you seem to be religious, and

bridleth not his tongue, but deceiveth his own heart, this man's religion is vain.

"Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this: To visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

And to ask you to remember in connection with these verses the verse ending the next chapter:

"For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also."

And again to remember the insistence of the Saviour himself upon the thesis that "By their fruits ye shall know them."

"Even so every good tree bringeth forth good fruit; but a corrupt tree bringeth forth evil fruit.

"A good tree can not bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit."

It is true that in many things the tendencies at work among us to-day are evil; but it is true also that there are plenty of other tendencies at work among us that are good. I do not know that I am prepared to assent to the statement that we are so much worse than we used to be, but it is not of any importance whether as a matter of academic belief we hold that things have grown better or have grown worse. What is of vital importance is that we should be resolved to do all in our power now—at this present moment as well as in the future—to make them better; and if we are a unit in this belief, it is open to us to differ as regards the other matter. I do feel that there has been a real growth

in broad Christian charity, the growth that produces just such incidents as those of which Dr. Vandewater spoke. I doubt very much whether a couple of centuries prior to that Episcopal gathering in the Friends' meeting house it would have been possible for your and their spiritual ancestors to come together on such an occasion; and it is a mighty good thing that it is possible now. I do believe that the different creeds are in the essentials, in really vital things, coming closer and closer together all the time; because I think that they are grasping the fact that the way in which they can best serve the Lord is not by warring against one another, but by joining hand in hand, by standing shoulder to shoulder in the great struggle against unrighteousness, in the great war for decency, for honesty, for clean living in the home no less than in the nation. The worth of any creed must in the long run be judged largely by the conduct of those who profess it. The most effective service for Christianity that can possibly be given is to show in actual life that those who profess it do give in their conduct an approximate expression to the faith that is in them. I doubt if any of us will be able to give more than such approximate expression of that faith; nevertheless we can each of us strive in our conduct to show that the Word is alive in us; that we are striving to live up to the essentials of Christianity, of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man as they are taught in the Bible, as they are preached to us Sunday after Sunday. It

is the conduct of the average Christian, not on Sunday but on week-days, not in the church alone but in his family and in his relations to his neighbor and to the State, that will more than anything else determine in the eyes of the general public the worth of the creed that man professes. If a man treats mere going to church, or mere devotion in word to his creed or to the outward forms of his creed, not as an incentive to decent action, but as a substitute for decent action, he is in very truth an enemy to the creed he professes; he is a drawback and not a help to the church.

Of course all this applies in little things as much as in big things. It applies in the little things which in their sum are so big. The man is not a good Christian if his domestic conduct is such that when he returns to his home his wife and his children feel a sense of uneasiness at his having come. The man is not a good Christian who in his business dealings fails to remember that it is incumbent upon him to hold a higher standard than his fellows; that it is incumbent upon him, if he is a very rich man, to make it evident alike in the way he earns and the way he spends his fortune that the Word of the Lord is to him a living truth and not a dead doctrine. And of course what I say applies even more strongly to the man in public life than to the man in business, than to the man in private life.

More and more I believe that people who possess either religious belief or aspiration after religious

belief are growing to demand conduct as the ultimate test of the worth of belief. Whenever we read in the newspapers that some man esteemed to be a pillar of the church has been guilty of business dishonesty, or political dishonesty, of offences against the moral law in any shape or way, all who are members of the churches should feel a far greater disappointment, should feel a greater regret by far, than those who are not. We can not afford to let it be supposed for a moment that we exact from those who are attendants at or members of churches any less strict observance of the moral law, anything but a more strict observance of the moral law, in all relations of life, than we expect from those who do not go to churches or who do not belong to them. We must strive each of us in his own life first, each of us as in a certain sense his brother's keeper next, so to bear ourselves as to show that we actually take to our own souls the teaching that by our fruits we shall be known; and that the corrupt tree can not bring forth good fruit, and that the sound tree must prove its soundness by bringing forth good fruit. The nominal Christian, the man who has attended to all the outward observances of Christianity with no matter what scrupulous care, who nevertheless embezzles trust funds, who is a disgrace in business, in politics, or in home life, has sinned against the light, and is more, not less, blameworthy than if he had never made profession of belief. Each of us, layman and clergyman alike, must strive in our actual

conduct day by day with the people among whom we live to make them understand that what we expect from Christian folk, if they are sincere in their devotion to Christianity, is the highest standard of conduct, is the actual carrying out in practical life of what they profess to receive in church, from the Bible, and from their associations with their fellow-members of whatever creed.

All men in public life come in contact with much that is base, with much that is venal or cowardly or dishonest; and if they have in their hearts any appreciation of what is really necessary to true national greatness, they must feel the need of every force for good in this country being multiplied and strengthened to the utmost possible extent. Dr. Geer spoke very strongly of the need of practical, of applied, religion, in the life of this Republic. He could not speak too strongly. We can not continue as a republic, we can not rise to any true level of greatness, unless that greatness is based upon and conditioned by a high and brave type of spiritual life.

There is nothing we should abhor more than the telling of an untruth, whether a conventional untruth or not; and I would on no account be understood as affecting to deprecate material well-being. To tell men to disregard riches entirely is to preach to them not only a doctrine which it is impossible for them to live up to, but which the preacher knows perfectly well they will not try to live up to. Regard the things of the body, but put them below

the things of the soul. Give to the body what the body is entitled to, but do not give it more than it is entitled to. The multimillionaire of whom Dr. Geer spoke, the man of wealth generally, is not a harm but a good to the community if he appreciates that he is a trustee for that wealth, that his use of it must also be a use which tells for decency in private life, for honesty and courage in business and in public life. No man is going to be of any real use to others until first of all he is able to carry his own weight; and if a man entirely disregards the things of the body it means that some one else has to regard them for him. He can not be a factor for good in the community at large unless he is first able to support himself and those dependent upon him. That is a fundamental, a basic duty for every man, and if he does not fulfil it he is not only doing wrong to those who are near him but he is depriving himself of the chance to do decent work for outsiders. So we need material well-being in this nation as a foundation without which no superstructure can be raised. But upon that foundation we must see to it that we build the superstructure of high individual and national conduct; so that each man in his relations to his fellows shall actually be influenced by the ethical standards which teach us that the thing in life best worth having will prove in the end to be the sense of having so lived that others are better and not worse off because we have lived.

Oyster Bay, N. Y.
September 14, 1906

My dear Señor Quesada:

In this crisis in the affairs of the Republic of Cuba, I write you, not merely because you are the Minister of Cuba accredited to this Government, but because you and I were intimately drawn together at the time when the United States intervened in the affairs of Cuba with the result of making her an independent nation. You know how sincere my affectionate admiration and regard for Cuba are. You know that I never have done and never shall do anything in reference to Cuba save with such sincere regard for her welfare. You also know the pride I felt because it came to me as President to withdraw the American troops from the island of Cuba and officially to proclaim her independence and to wish her Godspeed in her career as a free republic. I desire now through you to say a word of solemn warning to your people, whose earnest well-wisher I am. For seven years Cuba has been in a condition of profound peace and of steadily growing prosperity. For four years this peace and prosperity have obtained under her own independent government. Her peace, prosperity, and independence are now menaced; for of all possible evils that can befall Cuba the worst is the evil of anarchy, into which civil war and revolutionary disturbances will assuredly throw her. Whoever is responsible for

armed revolt and outrage, whoever is responsible in any way for the condition of affairs that now obtains, is an enemy of Cuba; and doubly heavy is the responsibility of the man who, affecting to be the especial champion of Cuban independence, takes any step which will jeopardize that independence. For there is just one way in which Cuban independence can be jeoparded, and that is for the Cuban people to show their inability to continue in their path of peaceful and orderly progress. This Nation asks nothing of Cuba, save that it shall continue to develop as it has developed during these past seven years; that it shall know and practice the orderly liberty which will assuredly bring an ever-increasing measure of peace and prosperity to the beautiful Queen of the Antilles. Our intervention in Cuban affairs will only come if Cuba herself shows that she has fallen into the insurrectionary habit, that she lacks the self-restraint necessary to secure peaceful self-government, and that her contending factions have plunged the country into anarchy.

I solemnly adjure all Cuban patriots to band together, to sink all differences and personal ambitions, and to remember that the only way that they can preserve the independence of their republic is to prevent the necessity of outside interference, by rescuing it from the anarchy of civil war. I earnestly hope that this word of adjuration of mine, given in the name of the American people, the stanchest friends and well-wishers of Cuba that

there are in all the world, will be taken as it is meant, will be seriously considered, and will be acted upon; and if so acted upon, Cuba's permanent independence, her permanent success as a republic, are assured.

Under the treaty with your Government, I, as President of the United States, have a duty in this matter which I can not shirk. The third article of that treaty explicitly confers upon the United States the right to intervene for the maintenance in Cuba of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty. The treaty conferring this right is the supreme law of the land and furnishes me with the right and the means of fulfilling the obligation that I am under to protect American interests. The information at hand shows that the social bonds throughout the island have been so relaxed that life, property, and individual liberty are no longer safe. I have received authentic information of injury to, and destruction of, American property. It is, in my judgment, imperative for the sake of Cuba that there shall be an immediate cessation of hostilities and some arrangement which will secure the permanent pacification of the island.

I am sending to Havana the Secretary of War, Mr. Taft, and the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr. Bacon, as the special representatives of this Government, who will render such aid as is possible toward these ends. I had hoped that Mr. Root, the Secretary of State, could have stopped in Havana

on his return from South America, but the seeming imminence of the crisis forbids further delay.

Through you I desire in this way to communicate with the Cuban Government and with the Cuban people, and accordingly I am sending you a copy of this letter to be presented to President Palma, and have also directed its immediate publication. Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

SEÑOR DON GONZALO DE QUESADA,
The Cuban Minister.

OYSTER BAY, N. Y.
September 21, 1906

DEAR ADMIRAL THOMAS:

I enclose $100, to be used in that suit which, thanks to you, has been so wisely undertaken to test the legality of excluding any man from any public place of entertainment because he wears the United States uniform. I feel that it is the duty of every good citizen to endeavor in every shape and way to make it plain that he regards the uniform of the United States Army and Navy, just as much when worn by an enlisted man as when worn by an officer, as a badge of honor, and therefore as entitling the wearer to honor so long as he behaves decently. There is no finer body of men in all our country than the enlisted men of the Army and Navy of the United States, and I can not sufficiently express my indignation and contempt for any man who treats their uniform save with the respect to which it is entitled. If a man

misbehaves himself, then, no matter what uniform he wears, he should be dealt with accordingly; but the fact of wearing the United States uniform should be accepted as presumptive evidence that the man who wears it is all right; and any discrimination against the uniform as such is more than presumptive evidence that the man thus discriminating is all wrong. Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

REAR-ADMIRAL CHARLES M. THOMAS, U. S. N.,
Superintendent, Naval Training Service,
Narragansett Bay, R. I.

AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONIES OF THE NEW STATE CAPITOL BUILDING AT HARRISBURG, PA., OCTOBER 4, 1906

It is a very real pleasure for me to attend these ceremonies at the capital of your great State. In every great crisis of our Government the attitude of Pennsylvania has been of crucial importance, as the affectionate nickname of "Keystone State" signifies. Pennsylvania has always looked warily before she leaped, and it was well that she should do so. But having finally made up her mind, in each great crisis of our national history, her weight has been cast unhesitatingly upon the right side, and has been found irresistible. This was true alike at the time of the Declaration of Independence, at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and during the terrible years when the issue was the preservation of the Union.

Pennsylvania's soil is historic. It was within Pennsylvania's borders that the contest opened which was to decide whether the valiant soldiers of France would be able to bar this continent against the domination of the people of the English-speaking colonies. It was on Pennsylvania's soil that the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitutional Convention held. It was in Pennsylvania that Washington wintered at Valley Forge, and by keeping his army together during that winter definitely turned the scales in our favor in the contest for independence. It was again on Pennsylvania's soil, at Gettysburg, that the tide turned in the Civil War. In the composition of her people, moreover, Pennsylvania has epitomized the composition of our Union; for here many Old World races have mingled their blood to make that new type, the American. Finally, in all branches of the public service, in peace and in war, the native or adopted citizens of Pennsylvania have attained the highest eminence.

I do not, however, come here to-day to speak only of the past, and still less to appeal merely to State pride. We can show that the past is with us a living force only by the way in which we handle ourselves in the present, and each of us can best show his devotion to his own State by making evident his paramount devotion to that Union which includes all the States. The study of the great deeds of the past is of chief avail in so far as it incites us to grapple resolutely and effectively with

the problems of the present. We are not now menaced by foreign war. Our Union is firmly established. But each generation has its special and serious difficulties; and we of this generation have to struggle with evils springing from the very material success of which we are so proud, from the very growth and prosperity of which, with justice, we boast. The extraordinary industrial changes of the last half century have produced a totally new set of conditions, under which new evils flourish; and for these new evils new remedies must be devised.

Some of these evils can be grappled with by private effort only; for we never can afford to forget that in the last analysis the chief factor in personal success, and indeed in national greatness, must be the sturdy, self-reliant character of the individual citizen. But many of these evils are of such a nature that no private effort can avail against them. These evils, therefore, must be grappled with by governmental action. In some cases this governmental action must be exercised by the several States individually. In yet others it has become increasingly evident that no efficient State action is possible, and that we need, through executive action, through legislation, and through judicial interpretation and construction of law, to increase the power of the Federal Government.

If we fail thus to increase it, we show our impotence and leave ourselves at the mercy of those ingenious legal advisers of the holders of vast cor-

porate wealth, who, in the performance of what they regard as their duty, and to serve the ends of their clients, invoke the law at one time for the confounding of their rivals, and at another time strive for the nullification of the law, in order that they themselves may be left free to work their unbridled will on these same rivals, or on those who labor for them, or on the general public. In the exercise of their profession and in the service of their clients these astute lawyers strive to prevent the passage of efficient laws and strive to secure judicial determinations of those that pass which shall emasculate them. They do not invoke the Constitution in order to compel the due observance of law alike by rich and poor, by great and small; on the contrary, they are ceaselessly on the watch to cry out that the Constitution is violated whenever any effort is made to invoke the aid of the National Government, whether for the efficient regulation of railroads, for the efficient supervision of great corporations, or for efficiently securing obedience to such a law as the national eight-hour law and similar so-called "labor statutes."

The doctrine they preach would make the Constitution merely the shield of incompetence and the excuse for governmental paralysis; they treat it as a justification for refusing to attempt the remedy of evil, instead of as the source of vital power necessary for the existence of a mighty and ever-growing nation.

Strong nationalist though I am, and firm though

my belief is that there must be a wide extension of the power of the National Government to deal with questions of this kind, I freely admit that as regards many matters of first-rate importance we must rely purely upon the States for the betterment of present conditions. The several States must do their duty or our citizenship can never be put on a proper plane. Therefore I most heartily congratulate the people of the State of Pennsylvania on what its Legislature, upon what its government, has accomplished during this present year. It is a remarkable record of achievement.

Through your Legislature you have abolished passes; you have placed the offices of the secretary of the Commonwealth and the insurance commissioner upon an honorable and honest basis of salary only by abolishing the fee system; you have passed a law compelling the officers and employees of great cities to attend to the duties for which they are paid by all the taxpayers, and to refrain from using the power conferred by their offices to influence political campaigns; you have prohibited the solicitation or receiving of political assessments by city employees; you have by law protected the State treasury from depredation and conserved the public moneys for use only in the public interest; you have by a law for the protection of the elective franchise made tampering with the ballot-boxes and the casting of illegal votes so difficult as in all probability to be unprofitable; you have provided a primary election law which guarantees to the

voters free expression in the selection of candidates for office; you have by law regulated and improved the civil service systems of your greatest cities; and, finally, you have passed a law containing a provision which I most earnestly hope will in substance be embodied likewise in a law by the Congress at the coming session—a provision prohibiting the officers of any corporation from making a contribution of the money of that corporation to any candidate or any political committee for the payment of any election expenses whatever.

It is surely not too much to say that this body of substantive legislation marks an epoch in the history of the practical betterment of political conditions, not merely for your State, but for all our States. I do not recall any other State Legislature which, in a similar length of time, has to its credit such a body of admirable legislation. Let me, however, most earnestly urge that your Legislature continue this record of public service by enacting one or two additional laws. One subject which every good citizen should have at heart above almost all others is the matter of child labor. Everywhere the great growth of modern industrialism has been accompanied by abuses in connection with the employment of labor which have necessitated a complete change in the attitude of the State toward labor.

This is above all true in connection with the employment of child labor. In Pennsylvania you have made a beginning, but only a beginning, in

proper legislation and administration on this subject; the law must if necessary be strengthened, and it must be rigorously enforced. The National Government can do but little in the matter of child labor, though I earnestly hope that that little will be permitted to be done by Congress. The great bulk of the work, however, must be left to the State Legislatures; and if our State Legislatures would act as drastically and yet as wisely on this subject of child labor as Pennsylvania has acted within the present year as regards the subjects I have enumerated above, the gain would be literally incalculable; and one of the most vital needs of modern American life would at last be adequately met.

So much for the State. Now for the Nation; and here I can not do better than base my theory of governmental action upon the words and deeds of one of Pennsylvania's greatest sons, Justice James Wilson. Wilson's career has been singularly overlooked for many years, but I believe that more and more it is now being adequately appreciated; and I congratulate your State upon the fact that Wilson's body is to be taken away from where it now rests and brought back to lie, as it should, in Pennsylvania soil. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was one of the men who saw that the Revolution, in which he had served as a soldier, would be utterly fruitless unless it was followed by a close and permanent union of the States; and in the Constitutional Convention, and in securing the adoption of the Constitution and

expounding what it meant, he rendered services even greater than he rendered as a member of the Continental Congress, which declared our independence; for it was the success of the makers and preservers of the Union which justified our independence.

He believed in the people with the faith of Abraham Lincoln; and coupled with his faith in the people he had what most of the men who in this generation believed in the people did not have; that is, the courage to recognize the fact that faith in the people amounted to nothing unless the representatives of the people assembled together in the National Government were given full and complete power to work on behalf of the people. He developed even before Marshall the doctrine (absolutely essential not merely to the efficiency but to the existence of this Nation) that an inherent power rested in the Nation, outside of the enumerated powers conferred upon it by the Constitution, in all cases where the object involved was beyond the power of the several States and was a power ordinarily exercised by sovereign nations.

In a remarkable letter in which he advocated setting forth in early and clear fashion the powers of the National Government, he laid down the proposition that it should be made clear that there were neither vacancies nor interferences between the limits of State and national jurisdiction, and that both jurisdictions together composed only one uniform and comprehensive system of government and

laws; that is, whenever the States can not act, because the need to be met is not one of merely a single locality, then the National Government, representing all the people, should have complete power to act. It was in the spirit of Wilson that Washington, and Washington's lieutenant, Hamilton, acted; and it was in the same spirit that Marshall construed the law.

It is only by acting in this spirit that the national judges, legislators, and executives can give a satisfactory solution of the great question of the present day—the question of providing on behalf of the sovereign people the means which will enable the people in effective form to assert their sovereignty over the immense corporations of the day. Certain judicial decisions have done just what Wilson feared; they have, as a matter of fact, left vacancies, left blanks between the limits of possible State jurisdiction and the limits of actual national jurisdiction over the control of the great business corporations. It is the narrow construction of the powers of the National Government which in our democracy has proved the chief means of limiting the national power to cut out abuses, and which is now the chief bulwark of those great moneyed interests which oppose and dread any attempt to place them under efficient governmental control.

Many legislative actions and many judicial decisions which I am confident time will show to have been erroneous and a damage to the country would have been avoided if our legislators and jurists had

approached the matter of enacting and construing the laws of the land in the spirit of your great Pennsylvanian, Justice Wilson—in the spirit of Marshall and of Washington. Such decisions put us at a great disadvantage in the battle for industrial order as against the present industrial chaos. If we interpret the Constitution in narrow instead of broad fashion, if we forsake the principles of Washington, Marshall, Wilson, and Hamilton, we as a people will render ourselves impotent to deal with any abuses which may be committed by the men who have accumulated the enormous fortunes of to-day, and who use these fortunes in still vaster corporate form in business.

The legislative or judicial actions and decisions of which I complain, be it remembered, do not really leave to the States power to deal with corporate wealth in business. Actual experience has shown that the States are wholly powerless to deal with this subject; and any action or decision that deprives the Nation of the power to deal with it, simply results in leaving the corporations absolutely free to work without any effective supervision whatever; and such a course is fraught with untold danger to the future of our whole system of government, and, indeed, to our whole civilization.

All honest men must abhor and reprobate any effort to excite hostility to men of wealth as such. We should do all we can to encourage thrift and business energy, to put a premium upon the conduct of the man who honestly earns his livelihood

and more than his livelihood, and who honestly uses the money he has earned. But it is our clear duty to see, in the interest of the people, that there is adequate supervision and control over the business use of the swollen fortunes of to-day, and also wisely to determine the conditions upon which these fortunes are to be transmitted and the percentage that they shall pay to the Government whose protecting arm alone enables them to exist. Only the Nation can do this work. To relegate it to the States is a farce, and is simply another way of saying that it shall not be done at all.

Under a wise and farseeing interpretation of the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution, I maintain that the National Government should have complete power to deal with all of this wealth which in any way goes into the commerce between the States—and practically all of it that is employed in the great corporations does thus go in. The national legislators should most scrupulously avoid any demagogic legislation about the business use of this wealth, and should realize that it would be better to have no legislation at all than legislation couched either in a vindictive spirit of hatred toward men of wealth or else drawn with the recklessness of impracticable visionaries. But, on the other hand, it shall and must ultimately be understood that the United States Government, on behalf of the people of the United States, has and is to exercise the power of supervision and control over the business use of this wealth—in the first

place, over all the work of the common carriers of the Nation, and in the next place over the work of all the great corporations which directly or indirectly do any interstate business whatever—and this includes almost all of the great corporations.

During the last few years the National Government has taken very long strides in the direction of exercising and securing this adequate control over the great corporations, and it was under the leadership of one of the most honored public men in our country, one of Pennsylvania's most eminent sons —the present Senator, and then Attorney-General, Knox—that the new departure was begun. Events have moved fast during the last five years, and it is curious to look back at the extreme bitterness which not merely the spokesmen and representatives of organized wealth, but many most excellent conservative people then felt as to the action of Mr. Knox and of the Administration.

Many of the greatest financiers of this country were certain that Mr. Knox's Northern Securities suit, if won, would plunge us into the worst panic we had ever seen. They denounced as incitement to anarchy, as an apology for socialism, the advocacy of policies that either have now become law or are in fair way of becoming law; and yet these same policies, so far from representing either anarchy or socialism, were in reality the antidotes to anarchy, the antidotes to socialism. To exercise a constantly increasing and constantly more efficient supervision and control over the great common

carriers of the country prevents all necessity for seriously considering such a project as the Government ownership of railroads—a policy which would be evil in its results from every standpoint.

A similar extension of the national power to oversee and secure correct behavior in the management of all great corporations engaged in interstate business will in similar fashion render far more stable the present system by doing away with those grave abuses which are not only evil in themselves but are also evil because they furnish an excuse for agitators to inflame well-meaning people against all forms of property, and to commit the country to schemes of wild, would-be remedy which would work infinitely more harm than the disease itself. The Government ought not to conduct the business of the country; but it ought to regulate it so that it shall be conducted in the interest of the public.

Perhaps the best justification of the course which in the National Government we have been pursuing in the past few years, and which we intend steadily and progressively to pursue in the future, is that it is condemned with almost equal rancor alike by the reactionaries—the Bourbons—on one side, and by the wild apostles of unrest on the other. The reactionary is bitterly angry because we have deprived him of that portion of his power which he misuses to the public hurt; the agitator is angered for various reasons, including among others the fact that by remedying the abuses we have deprived him of

the fulcrum of real grievance, which alone renders the lever of irrational agitation formidable.

We have actually accomplished much. But we have not accomplished all, nor anything like all, that we feel must be accomplished. We shall not halt; we shall steadily follow the path we have marked out, executing the laws we have succeeded in putting upon the statute books with absolute impartiality as between man and man, and unresting in our endeavor to strengthen and supplement these by further laws which shall enable us in more efficient and more summary fashion to achieve the ends we have in view.

During the last few years Congress has had to deal with such vitally important questions as providing for the building of the Panama Canal, inaugurating the vast system of national irrigation in the States of the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, providing for a Pacific cable, upbuilding the navy, and so forth. Yet in addition to these tasks, some of which are of stupendous importance, Congress has taken giant strides along the path of Government regulation and control of corporations; the interstate commerce law has been made effective in radical and far-reaching fashion, rebates have been stopped, a pure-food law has been passed, proper supervision of the meat-packing business provided, and the Bureau of Corporations established—a bureau which has already done great good, and which can and should be given a constantly increasing functional power.

The work of legislation has been no more important than the work done by the Department of Justice in executing the laws, not only against corporations and individuals who have broken the anti-trust or interstate commerce law, but against those who have been engaged in land frauds. Scores of suits, civil and criminal, have been successfully undertaken against offenders of all kinds —many of them against the most formidable and wealthy combinations in the land; in some the combinations have been dissolved, in some heavy fines have been imposed, in several cases the chief offenders have been imprisoned.

It behooves us Americans to look ahead and plan out the right kind of a civilization, as that which we intend to develop from these wonderful new conditions of vast industrial growth. It must not be, it shall not be, the civilization of a mere plutocracy, a banking-house, Wall-Street-syndicate civilization; nor yet can there be submission to class hatred, to rancor, brutality, and mob violence, for that would mean the end of all civilization. Increased powers are susceptible of abuse as well as use; never before have the opportunities for selfishness been so great, nor the results of selfishness so appalling; for in communities where everything is organized on a merely selfish commercial basis, such selfishness, if unchecked, may transform the great forces of the new epoch into powers of destruction hitherto unequaled.

We need to check the forces of greed, to ensure

just treatment alike of capital and of labor, and of the general public, to prevent any man, rich or poor, from doing or receiving wrong, whether this wrong be one of cunning or of violence. Much can be done by wise legislation and by resolute enforcement of the law. But still more must be done by steady training of the individual citizen, in conscience and character, until he grows to abhor corruption and greed and tyranny and brutality and to prize justice and fair dealing.

The men who are to do the work of the new epoch must be trained so as to have a sturdy self-respect, a power of sturdy insistence on their own rights, and with it a proud and generous recognition of their duties, a sense of honorable obligation to their fellows, which will bind them, as by bands of steel, to refrain in their daily work at home or in their business from doing aught to any man which can not be blazoned under the noonday sun.

AT YORK, PA., OCTOBER 4, 1906

Mr. Congressman; Mr. Mayor, and you, my Fellow-Citizens, Men and Women of the Great Keystone State:

It is a peculiar pleasure for me to have the chance of saying a few words to you to-day here in this old historic city—a peculiarly American city in a peculiarly American portion of our country. It was in this city that for a considerable time during the darkest days of the Revolutionary War the National Government had its seat. Here those men

assembled who won our independence; who then constituted us into that perfect union a failure to constitute which would have meant that the struggle for independence itself was an empty victory; and from here went forth by the hundred your sons to preserve the union which their forefathers had founded. We of this day, of the younger generation, have not the same terrible trials to undergo, have not the same terrible problems to meet; but we have our trials and our problems and we are going to be judged as worthy or unworthy of our forefathers according to the way in which we meet these trials and solve these problems. Each generation has its own work to do, and no generation can afford to sit back and merely glorify the past, as an excuse for not doing its duty in the present. We must be moved to meet our problems to-day partly by our pride in the deeds of the men who in the dark years from '61 to '65 rose level to the needs of the Nation; but we must not plead these deeds as an excuse for not doing our work. On the contrary, they must serve as a spur to make us do our work better.

This part of your great State is a veritable garden of the Lord. Passing through it to-day I am impressed, as I always am impressed when I pass through it, by its wonderful fertility; by the chances it opens to every man to do well materially, and therefore, if he chooses, to do well in the things that are not merely material. This old historic city of yours is now pulsing with a new life; it has

become a great and growing manufacturing city. Your farm country round about is studded over with prosperous farms. And one thing I notice: On each farm the barn is bigger than the house; a good proof that the right kind of man owns the farm. When a farmer's barn is smaller than his house, then the farm is in danger. Your people here have won out, your farmers have made their great success, largely because they have proved true to the old proverb that you will see practically applied in all farming regions where there is a good percentage of German blood, and that is: however hard the year, lay up a little. If you do you will find your sons ahead of the game. If you possess such an unhappy nature as to make you refuse to lay up a little because you can not lay up a great deal, then you will never lay up anything. It is true always and everywhere that an ounce of thrift and hard work is worth a great many pounds of envy of some one else and of statements of how well you could do if conditions were a little bit different. There are plenty of apostles of discontent; there are plenty of men who will try to teach you that our social and industrial conditions are all wrong and must be completely overset. There is urgent need for betterment in a great many of our conditions; there is urgent need that we should each of us resolutely do his part in helping solve the great problems of the day—the problems that need governmental action. But we never can afford to forget that the most important factor in the

success of this country is the factor of individual citizenship. I do not care if you had the most perfect laws that could be devised by the wit of man or the wit of angels, they would not amount to anything if the average man was not a pretty decent fellow; and I base my firm belief in the future of this country because I believe the average American is a pretty decent fellow. Nothing can take the place of the individual factor, of the average man's quality and character, his industry, his energy, his thrift, his decency, his determination to be a good man in his own home, a good neighbor, and a good citizen in his relations to the state. Of all men distrust most the man who tries to incite one set of Americans against another set of Americans.

What we have to demand of our neighbors if we are true to our principles of citizenship here in this country, is not as to whether they are rich or poor, whether they live in the city or the country, the North or the South, the East or the West; but whether they are decent, hard-working, law-abiding Americans, trying to do their duty as light is given them to see their duty. If they fulfil those requirements, then they have a right to claim comradeship with us and a right to challenge our support.

The first factor in winning out in our national life must always remain the individual character. The man has to help himself first. Remember that there is nothing so very peculiar in running the State or the Government; you need only apply the same principles to it that you do in your own life.

Among your friends and neighbors, which one is it that wins success—the man who does his best with the tools at hand, or the man who is always sitting down and thinking that some one should give him a push along? No government can help that man who is always sitting down. Each one of us stumbles at times, and shame on any one of us who will not reach out a helping hand to his brother who stumbles. Help him in the only way that any real help can ever come; help him to help himself. But if he lies down, it is of no use to try to carry him.

Our immense industrial success, the very success which has made York what it is and will make it so much bigger and more prosperous in the future, brings great problems. There is every reason why the Government should exercise a constantly increasing supervision over and control of the great fortunes used in business, so as to see that the great corporations, the great fortunes generally that are used in business, shall be so used as to be in the interest of and not against the interests of the ordinary people, the general public. Never for one moment permit that movement for the supervision of wealth, that movement to see that wealth is used aright, to degenerate into a movement of hatred and malice. Hatred and malice are mighty ugly sentiments, and are just as bad if you hate and envy a rich man as if you hate and look down upon a poor man. The safe doctrine is to give each man fair play, and just a little more than fair play if you can.

In the effort to reform existing conditions where they are wrong, in the effort to strive, for instance, to give a constantly increasing governmental supervision over the use of wealth in railroads, in big corporations, in all business, remember that our success is conditioned upon our neither being led astray by the reactionaries on one side, nor by the sinister or foolish extremists on the other. I want to see the relations of the Government, representing the people as a whole, as regards the supervision and control of these great corporations, determined by the moderates, the plain men who merely want justice, who are resolute to see that the rich man does his duty and does not do anything wrong, but who are equally resolute to see that he does not have any injustice dealt out to him in return. No man is a true servant of the people if he does not always warn the people that those who take the sword shall perish by the sword; that the people who do injustice to any class of citizens must surely in the end suffer for doing that injustice.

This Government will succeed because it shall never fall into such a pit as the republics of old fell into; this Government shall not be a Government by a plutocracy and it shall not be a Government by a mob. It is to be and it shall be a Government of the plain people, where each man zealously guards his own rights and no less scrupulously remembers his duty and pays due regard to the rights of others; a Government whose

guiding principle is and shall be that each man, rich or poor, whatever his rank, whatever his occupation, whatever his creed, is to be judged solely on his worth and merits as a man.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
October 8, 1906

MY DEAR SHERMAN:

Since you left this morning I succeeded in getting hold of the letters to which I referred, and I send you a copy of Governor Odell's letter to me of December 10, 1904.

As I am entirely willing that you should show this letter to Mr. E. H. Harriman, I shall begin by repeating what you told me he said to you on the occasion last week when you went to ask him for a contribution to the campaign. You informed me that he then expressed great dissatisfaction with me, and said, in effect, that as long as I was at the head of the Republican Party or as it was dominated by the policies which I advocate and represent, he would not support it, and was quite indifferent whether Hearst beat Hughes or not, whether the Democrats carried Congress or not. He gave as a reason for his personal dislike of me partly my determination to have the railroads supervised, and partly the alleged fact that after promising him to appoint Depew Ambassador to France I failed to do it; and, I understood you to say, that he alleged that I made this promise at a time when he had come down to see me in Wash-

ington, when I requested him to raise two hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the Republican Presidential campaign which was then on. Any such statement is a deliberate and wilful untruth—by rights it should be characterized by an even shorter and more ugly word. I never requested Mr. Harriman to raise a dollar for the Presidential campaign of 1904. On the contrary, our communications as regards the campaign related exclusively to the fight being made against Mr. Higgins for Governor of New York, Mr. Harriman being immensely interested in the success of Mr. Higgins because he regarded the attack on Higgins as being really an attack on him, Mr. Harriman, and on his friend, Governor Odell; and he was concerned only in getting me to tell Mr. Cortelyou to aid Mr. Higgins so far as he could, which I gladly did. He also (I think more than once) urged me to promise to make Senator Depew Ambassador to France, giving me in detail the reason why this would help Governor Odell, by pleasing certain big financial interests. I informed him that I did not believe it would be possible for me to appoint Mr. Depew, and furthermore expressed my surprise at his saying that the men representing the big financial interests of New York wished that appointment made, inasmuch as a number of them had written to me asking that the same place be given to Mr. Hyde, and that as a matter of fact, while I was not prepared to announce any decision, I doubted whether I could appoint either Mr. Depew or Mr. Hyde to

the place. As soon as Mr. Harriman heard that Mr. Hyde was a candidate and had asked the name of his backers, he hastily said that he did not wish to be understood as antagonizing Mr. Hyde and would be quite willing to support him; and though I understood that he still preferred Mr. Depew, he left me strongly under the impression that he would be almost as well satisfied with Mr. Hyde, and was much discontented at my informing him so positively, not once, but repeatedly, that I did not think I should be able to appoint either.

His and my letters now before me of the fall of 1904 run as follows. On his return from spending the summer in Europe, on September 20, he wrote me stating that if I thought it desirable he would come to see me at any time, either then or later (he had been, as you remember, a delegate to the Republican National Convention, having voted for my nomination). On September 23 I answered this letter, saying:

"At present there is nothing for me to see you about, though there were one or two points in my letter of acceptance which I should have liked to discuss with you before putting it out."

On October 10 I wrote him:

"In view of the trouble over the State ticket in New York, I should much like to have a few words with you. Do you think you can get down here within a few days and take either lunch or dinner with me?"

The trouble I spoke of had reference to the bolt

against Higgins—that is, in reality against Mr. Harriman and Mr. Harriman's friend, Governor Odell. A reference to the files of the New York papers at that time will show that there was a very extensive bolt against Mr. Higgins upon the ground that Governor Odell had nominated him, and that he had in some matter favored Mr. Harriman overmuch—neither ground, in my judgment, being tenable. Mr. Harriman's backing of Governor Odell and extreme anxiety that he should win out, by securing Higgins's election, was a matter of common notoriety, and mentioned in all the papers; notably in the New York *Sun*. On October 12 Mr. Harriman wrote me:

"I am giving a very large part of my time to correcting the trouble here, and intend to do so if any effort on my part can accomplish it. . . . I will take occasion the first of next week to run down to see you, and think by that time the conditions will be very much improved."

After receiving this letter I wrote Mr. Harriman the following letter, which I give in full:

"Personal.

"October 14, 1904

"My dear Mr. Harriman:

"A suggestion has come to me in a roundabout way that you do not think it wise to come on to see me in these closing weeks of the campaign, but that you are reluctant to refuse, inasmuch as I have asked you. Now, my dear sir, you and I are prac-

tical men, and you are on the ground and know the conditions better than I do. If you think there is any danger of your visit to me causing trouble, or if you think there is nothing special I should be informed about, or no matter in which I could give aid, why, of course give up the visit for the time being, and then a few weeks hence before I write my message I shall get you to come down to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

"With great regard,

"Sincerely yours."

You will see that this letter is absolutely incompatible with any theory that I was asking Mr. Harriman to come down to see me in my own interest, or intended to make any request of any kind for help from him. On the contrary, all I was concerned with in seeing him was to know if I could be of help in securing the election of Mr. Higgins —a man for whom I had the highest respect, and who I believed would be, as in fact he has been, a most admirable Governor.

Moreover, the following letter will show that Mr. Harriman did not have in his mind any idea of my asking him to collect money, and that, on the contrary, what he was concerned about in connection with my letter to him was the allusion I made to the fact that I would like to see him before I wrote my message to discuss certain Government matters not connected with the campaign.

His letter, which is of November 30, runs as follows:

"Dear Mr. President:

"I just have had a telephone talk with Mr. Loeb, and requested him to give you a message from me.

"I drew his attention to the last paragraph of your letter to me of October 14 last, and explained that of course I did not want to make a trip to Washington unless it should be necessary; that the only matter I knew of, and about which I had any apprehension, and which might be referred to in your coming message to Congress, is that regarding the Interstate Commerce Commission, and what the attitude of the railroads should be toward it.

"I have communications from many conservative men in the West, asking me to take the matter up, they having, which I have not, information as to what you propose to say in your message on that subject, and I am very apprehensive about it.

"Mr. Loeb stated he believed that this part of the message could be sent to me, and I hope that he will do so. I sincerely believe it would be best for all interests that no reference be made to the subject, and in any event if referred to in such a way as not to bring about increased agitation. It is, as you well know, the conservative element, and the one on which we all rely, which is the most seldom heard from. Yours sincerely."

This letter to me was crossed by one from me, which reads as follows:

"Strictly Personal.

"November 30, 1904.

"My dear Mr. Harriman:

"Mr. Loeb tells me that you called me up to-day on the telephone and recalled my letter to you of October 14, in which I spoke to you of a desire to see you before sending in my message, as I wanted to go over with you certain governmental matters, and you added that you had heard that I had referred to the Interstate Commerce Commission; that you regretted this and wished I had left it out. In writing to you I had in view, especially, certain matters connected with currency legislation, and had not thought of discussing railroad matters with you. However, if it had occurred to me, I should have been delighted to do so; but if you remember when you were down here both you and I were so interested in certain of the New York political developments that I hardly, if at all, touched on governmental matters. As regards what I have said in my message about the Interstate Commerce Commission, while, as I say, I should have been delighted to go over it with you, I must also frankly say that my mind was definitely made up. Certain revelations connected with the investigation of the beef trust caused me to write the paragraph in question. I went with extreme care over the information in possession of the In-

SECRETARY LOEB AT HIS DESK IN THE
EXECUTIVE OFFICE

terstate Commerce Commission and of the Bureau of Corporations before writing it. I then went over the written paragraph again and again with Paul Morton, who is of all my Cabinet the most familiar with railroad matters, of course, and with Root, Knox, Taft, and Moody. It is a matter I had been carefully considering for two years, and had been gradually, though reluctantly, coming to the conclusion that it is unwise and unsafe from every standpoint to leave the question of rebates where it now is, and to fail to give the Interstate Commerce Commission additional power of an effective kind in regulating these rates.

"Let me repeat that I did not have this question in mind when I asked you to come down, but that I should most gladly have talked it over with you if it had occurred to me to do so; but, as a matter of fact, as you will remember, when you did come down to see me, you and I were both so engaged in the New York political situation that we talked of little else; and finally that the position I have taken has not been taken lightly, but after thinking over the matter and looking at it from different standpoints for at least two years, and after the most careful consultation with Morton, Taft, Moody, Knox, and Root as to the exact phraseology I should use.

"I do not send you a copy, simply because I have given no one a copy, not even the men above mentioned. It is impossible if I give out copies of any portions of my message to prevent the message

being known in advance; and the three press associations who now have the message are under a heavy penalty not to disclose a word of it before the appointed time. Sincerely yours."

On December 2 he wrote me the following letter on the same subject:

"Dear Mr. President:

"Thank you for your favor of the 30th.

"It was natural for me to suppose that railroad matters would be included in any discussion you and I might have before writing your message. I am of the opinion that an effective Interstate Commerce Commission could regulate the matter of rebates, and absolutely prevent the same, without any additional power of any kind, and, as you say, Paul Morton is more familiar with such matters than any one else in your Cabinet, and I believe he will agree with me in this. I fear there has been a lack of co-operation.

"During the enormous development of the last four years, the railroads have found it very hard to keep pace with the requirements imposed upon them, and the so-called surplus earnings, as well as additional capital, have been devoted to providing additional facilities and the bettering and enlarging of their properties, so as to give the increased and better service required of them. This work of betterment and enlargement must go on, and is all-important for the proper development of all sections

of the country. There is little doubt that during the next decade every single-track railroad in the country will have to be double-tracked and provide enlarged terminal and other facilities, and any move that will tend to cripple them financially would be detrimental to all interests over the whole country.

"I beg that you will pardon my not signing this personally, as I have to leave to catch my train for Arden, and have asked my secretary to sign it for me. Yours sincerely."

I was unable to agree with Mr. Harriman's views on the matter, and left my message unchanged as regards the interstate commerce law. (The rough draft of this portion of the message was completed in October, before the election.) I had always discussed with absolute freedom all my proposed moves in the trust and labor matters with the representatives of the big combinations or big railroads, as well as with the leaders of the labor men, of the farmers' organizations, the shippers' organizations, and the like—that is, I had as freely seen and communicated with Mr. Harriman, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Hill, and other railroad men as I had seen and communicated with Mr. Gompers, Mr. Keefe, Mr. Morrissey, Mr. Morrison, and other labor leaders. Mr. Harriman had, like most of the big railroad men, always written me very strongly protesting against my proposed course as regards the supervision and control over big combinations,

and especially over the big railroads—in a letter of his of August 19, 1902, for instance, he expressed the fear that a panic would follow my proposed action.

It will be seen that the above correspondence is entirely incompatible with what Mr. Harriman now, as you inform me, alleges as to my having asked him to secure money or to subscribe money for the Presidential campaign. As for the Depew matter, he professed throughout to be acting in the interest of Governor Odell, and though Governor Odell had been anxious that Mr. Depew should be nominated as Ambassador to France at a time when he was supporting Governor Black for Senator, he had changed his mind shortly after the last letter to me, above quoted, from Mr. Harriman, and on December 10 wrote me the letter I enclose, which reads in part as follows:

"My dear Mr. Roosevelt:

"A great many of your friends here in New York would be very much delighted and pleased if you could find it possible to appoint Mr. James H. Hyde as Minister to France. . . . Large business interests have given to him splendid executive abilities, and his association with so many prominent business men would be fitting recognition of the effective work done by them in the last campaign.

"In addition to this, he has behind him, I am sure, the approval of Senator Platt and Senator Depew, and, so far as I can speak for the organi-

zation, I believe his appointment would be, without question, more satisfactory than any that could be made from New York at the present time.

"Personally, I should appreciate your favorable consideration of this suggestion almost beyond anything else you could do for me. If you so desire, I shall be glad to come down to Washington and talk with you about it, but I believe there are others who are close to you and who feel just as I do, and I thought therefore that this letter would be sufficient as showing the attitude of the organizations and myself personally upon this important appointment."

As you know, I was obliged to refuse the request of the New York financiers and of the Republican organizations of the State and city, not deeming it proper to appoint Mr. Hyde to the position he sought.

So much for what Mr. Harriman said about me personally. Far more important are the additional remarks he made to you, as you inform me, when you asked him if he thought it was well to see Hearstism and the like triumphant over the Republican Party. You inform me that he told you that he did not care in the least, because those people were crooks and he could buy them; that whenever he wanted legislation from a State Legislature he could buy it; that he "could buy Congress," and that if necessary he "could buy the judiciary." This was doubtless said partly in boastful cynicism and

partly in a mere burst of bad temper because of his objection to the interstate-commerce law and to my actions as President. But it shows a cynicism and deep-seated corruption which make the man uttering such sentiments, and boasting, no matter how falsely, of his power to perform such crimes, at least as undesirable a citizen as Debs, or Moyer, or Haywood. It is because we have capitalists capable of uttering such sentiments and capable of acting on them that there is strength behind sinister agitators of the Hearst type. The wealthy corruptionist, and the demagogue who excites, in the press or on the stump, in office or out of office, class against class and appeals to the basest passions of the human soul, are fundamentally alike and are equally enemies of the Republic. I was horrified, as was Root, when you told us to-day what Harriman had said to you. As I say, if you meet him you are entirely welcome to show him this letter, although of course it must not be made public unless required by some reason of public policy, and then only after my consent has first been obtained.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. J. S. SHERMAN,
St. James Building, 1133 Broadway,
New York.

AT PANAMA, NOVEMBER 15, 1906

Mr. President, Señora Amador, and you, Citizens of Panama:

For the first time in the history of the United States it has become advisable for a President of the United States to step on territory not beneath the flag of the United States, and it is on the territory of Panama that this occurred, a symbol and proof of the closeness of the ties that unite the two countries, because of their peculiar relations to the gigantic enterprise of digging the Panama Canal.

In the admirable address of President Amador to which we have just listened, the President rightly said that the United States and Panama are partners in the great work which is now being done here on this isthmus. We are joint trustees for all the world in doing that work; and, President Amador, I hereby pledge on behalf of my country to you and your people the assurance of the heartiest support and of treatment on a basis of a full and complete and generous equality between the two Republics. Nowhere else in the world at this moment is a work of such importance taking place as here on the Isthmus of Panama, for here is being performed the giant engineering feat of the ages; and it is a matter for deep gratitude that I am able to say that it is being well and worthily performed.

It is but a few weeks since the Secretary of State of the American Republic, Secretary Root, was your guest here in this city, he having at that time fin-

ished a tour of South America which in its interest and in its far-reaching importance dwarfed anything of the kind that had ever hitherto been done by a secretary of state of the American Republic. Mr. Root, President Amador, at that time spoke to you and your people, giving his assurance of the hearty friendliness of spirit of the Republic of the North in its relations toward you and your people; and I wish here with all the emphasis possible to make Mr. Root's words mine and to reiterate what he has said to you already—that the sole desire of the United States as regards the Republic of Panama is to see it increase in wealth, in numbers, in importance, until it becomes, as I so earnestly hope it will become, one of the republics whose history reflects honor upon the entire western world. Such progress and prosperity, Mr. President, can come only through the preservation of both order and liberty; through the observance by those in power of all their rights, obligations, and duties to their fellow-citizens, and through the realization of those out of power that the insurrectionary habit, the habit of civil war, ultimately means destruction to the republic.

I now wish to thank you, President Amador, and all your people for the reception that has been accorded us. Not only have I been immensely impressed with the tremendous work being done so successfully on this isthmus, but I have also been immensely impressed with the beauty and fertility of your country; and I prophesy for it a great

future—a future which when the canal is completed will be of such a kind and will attain such dimensions as to make it indeed a proud boast to claim citizenship in Panama.

And now, Mr. President, in closing, I have but to say that not only do our people heartily wish well to Panama, but that we shall never interfere with her save to give her our aid in the attainment of her future.

TO THE EMPLOYEES IN THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, CULEBRA, CANAL ZONE, NOVEMBER 16, 1906

There is not much for me to say, because about all I would have to say is how heartily I appreciate on behalf of the country the work that you are doing. Yesterday and to-day, as I have been going along the whole line of the canal and seeing the work, I have felt more and more the feeling toward you gentlemen — I will go further than that — the feeling toward all connected with the canal who are in good faith doing their duty, that they are earning a right to the gratitude of the country such as can normally be earned only by soldiers who have served in a few of the great wars of history. I have just the feeling about you men down here that I have in meeting the men who have done well in a big war necessary for the honor and interest of the country that has been carried to a successful conclusion. Next to a man's own conduct of his private life the thing best worth doing is some-

thing that counts not only for the man himself but for the country at large; and that is the kind of thing you are doing. And I hope also earnestly that the spirit already here will grow even greater, the spirit that will make each man identify himself with this work done in such a shape that it shall be in the future enough to say of any man "he was connected with digging the Panama Canal" to confer the patent of nobility upon that man. In other words, just as we feel when we meet a man who has fought valiantly in the Civil War, we feel that he is a man who does not have to explain his part in life. That is exactly what you will have earned the right to say, that man did his full duty because he was connected honorably with the greatest feat of the kind ever performed by America, the greatest feat ever performed by any nation in the history of the entire world.

TO THE WORKMEN AT THE SHOPS AT MATACHIN, CANAL ZONE, NOVEMBER 16, 1906

It is a great pleasure to have come here and to have seen this work, and to see you engaged in it. I have had exactly the feeling I would have in seeing the soldiers of a great army engaged in a historic campaign; for it has fallen to the lot of very few armies in recorded history ever to perform a feat such as you here and your companions are performing. And exactly as when we meet a man who did his part well in the Civil War, we feel that there was a man who in his generation played

the part of a man among men who needs no explanation of how he passed those years, so I feel that every man who does his part well in doing this great work will have the same right to feel that he leaves to his children and to his children's children and to his country a record worth being made by an American citizen.

TO THE EMPLOYEES OF THE ISTHMIAN CANAL COMMISSION AT COLON, PANAMA, NOVEMBER, 17, 1906

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It was without precedent for a President to leave the United States, but this work is without precedent. You are doing the biggest thing of the kind that has ever been done, and I wanted to see how you were doing it. I am profoundly thankful that I shall be able to take back to the United States the message that the Nation's picked sons are carrying themselves so well here that I can absolutely guarantee the success of the mighty work which they are doing. It is not an easy work. Mighty few things that are worth doing are easy. Sometimes it is rough on the men, and just a little rougher on the women. It has pleased me particularly to see, as I have met the wives who have come down here with their husbands, the way in which they have turned in to make the best of everything and to help the men do their work well.

I want to say this word to you men, to all of you who are engaged in the work of dig-

ging this canal, whether you are here as superintendent, foreman, chief clerk, machinist, conductor, engineer, steam-shovel man—and he is the American who is setting the mark for the rest of you to live up to, by the way—whoever you are, if you are doing your duty you are putting your country under an obligation to you just as a soldier who does his work well in a great war puts the country under an obligation to him. As I have seen you at work, seen what you have done and are doing, noted the spirit with which you were approaching the task yet to be done, I have felt just exactly as I should feel if I saw the picked men of my country engaged in some great war. I am weighing my words when I say that you here who do your work well in bringing to completion this great enterprise will stand exactly as the soldiers of a few, and only a few, of the most famous armies of all the nations stand in history. This is one of the great works of the world; it is a greater work than you yourselves at the moment realize. Some of you, a good many of you, are sons of men who fought in the Civil War. When your fathers were in the fighting, they thought a good deal of the fact that the blanket was too heavy by noon and not quite heavy enough by night, that the pork was not as good as it might be and the hardtack was sometimes insufficient in amount, and they were not always satisfied with the way in which the regiments were led—those were the things they talked about a good deal of the time; but when the war

was over, when they came home, when they looked at what had been accomplished, all those things sank into insignificance, and the great fact remained that they had played their part like men among men, that they had borne themselves so that when people asked what they had done of worth in those great years all they had to say was that they had served decently and faithfully in the great armies. So in the future, each man of you will have the right to feel, if he has done his duty and a little more than his duty right up to the handle on the Isthmus, that he has made his country his debtor, that he has done more than his full share in adding renown to the Nation under whose flag this canal is being built.

(A voice in the audience: "How about Mr. Bigelow?")

Why, gentlemen, there never was a great feat done yet that there were not some men evil enough, small enough, or foolish enough, to wish to try to interfere with it, and to sneer at those who are actually doing the work. From time to time little men will come along to find fault with what you have done, to say that something could have been done better, that there has been some mistake, some shortcoming, that things are not really managed in the best of all possible manners, in the best of all possible worlds. They will have their say, and they will go down stream like bubbles, they will vanish; but the work you have done will remain for the ages. It is the man who does the job who counts;

not the little scolding critic who thinks he knows better how it ought to have been done.

I go back a better American, a prouder American, because of what I have seen the pick of American manhood doing here on the Isthmus. You will have hard times. Each of you will sometimes think that he is misunderstood by some one above him. That is a common experience of all of us, gentlemen. Now and then you will feel as if the people at home were indifferent and did not realize what you were doing. Do not make a mistake; they do realize it, and they will realize it more and more clearly as the years go by. I can not overstate the intensity of the feeling I have (and therein I merely typify the sentiment of the average man of our country) as to the vital importance of the task that you are doing; and to each of you who does his share of that task there will come in the end the proud assurance of vital duty well done. This assurance can come to but a limited number of men in each generation; and you are to be congratulated that you are among that limited number. I do not pity you because you have before you a hard task. I would feel ashamed of you if I thought you wanted pity. I admire you. I wish that any one of my boys was old enough to take part in the work. I feel that to each of you has come an opportunity such as is vouchsafed to but few in each generation. I shall see if it is not possible to provide for some little memorial, some mark, some badge, which will always distinguish the man who for a certain

space of time has done his work well on this isthmus, just as the button of the Grand Army distinguishes the man who did his work well in the Civil War. Another thing. In the Grand Army the spirit that appeals to me most is the spirit of full and frank comradeship among its members. Whether a man was a lieutenant-general of the Army of the United States, or whether he was the youngest recruit whose age would permit him to serve in the ranks, makes no difference; if he did his duty well he is a comrade to his fellows, and acclaimed as such in a spirit of full equality in every Grand Army post. The point is not the position, but the way in which the man handled himself in the position. So here, whatever the work, whether it be that of chief engineer, assistant engineer, machinist foreman or steam-shovel man, the only question that need be asked is, did the man do it well? And to do it well, gentlemen, you must do just a little more than merely earn the salary. Each man must have in him the feeling that, besides getting what he is rightfully entitled to for his work, aside and above that must come the feeling of triumph at being associated in the work itself, must come the appreciation of what a tremendous work it is, of what a splendid opportunity is offered to any man who takes part in it. As I came up the line through the Culebra cut yesterday, on one of the steam-shovels they had cut the legend, "We will do our best to help you dig it." I liked to look at that motto. That is the

right spirit. Another man called out to me as the train passed, "We are going to put it through." That is the spirit I like to see; and it is the spirit that you have in you.

In an army there are some men who, to use a homely phrase, can't stand the pace. So, here on the Isthmus there is an occasional man who means well, but who does not know how; there is an occasional man who does not mean well at all; and when a man of either type gets out and goes home, it is much more comfortable for him not to say that he failed, but that somebody else was not really a good man. There will always be a certain percentage of men in any work who for one cause or another become disgruntled, become sulky, and then try to run down the work and run down those who are doing it; and they are the natural and legitimate sources of the misinformation and slander of the yellow writers, of the men who preach the gospel of despair, whether in magazine or in newspaper. If there is any veteran of the Civil War here, he will tell you there were "coffee coolers" in those days, too; there are some of them to be found everywhere and at all times. These men, as they go home beaten, will give a totally wrong impression of the rest of the men down here; a totally wrong impression, not to their countrymen as a whole, but to a few people of little faith who measure the standard of you who succeed in doing the work by the standard of those who fail in the effort to do the work. We can disregard them. No man

can see as I have seen the character of the men engaged in doing this work and not glow with pride to think that they are representatives of his country. No man can see them and fail to realize that our honor and interest are safe in their hands, are safe in your hands.

In closing, all I have to say is this. You are doing a work the like of which has not before been seen in the ages, a work that shall last through the ages to come; and I pledge you, as President of the United States, and speaking for the people of the United States, every ounce of support and help and assistance that it is in my power to give you, so that we together—you, backed by the people of the United States—may speedily bring this greatest of works to a triumphant conclusion.

TO THE STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY AND NORMAL SCHOOL OF PORTO RICO, NOVEMBER 21, 1906

It is perfectly evident that I am in the United States; and if I could get Congress to see this university, the normal schools, and the other schools, I would not have any difficulty in getting full American citizenship for the people of Porto Rico. I am going to make the effort anyhow, and I will tell them about this institution, and say that no one could go through Porto Rico to-day and see its people, and above all to see its schools and its university, without a genuine feeling of admiration for what is being done and of pride in all of you as

fellow-citizens. Now just one word of appreciation for what is being done in your educational institutions. You are training the next generation not only in point of intellect, but in what counts for far more than intellect, in character; for it is character which in the long run determines the greatness of any nation. You teachers, whom I respect as I respect hardly any other body of my fellow-citizens, whether your work is done in the United States or in Porto Rico, do more than can be done in any other way for our people if you teach the generation that is rising that though it is a good thing to have a sound body, it is an even better thing to have a sound mind, and that though it is a good thing to have a sound mind, it is a better thing to have that which we call character—character which is based upon many different qualities, upon perseverance, thrift, self-restraint (for if you can not govern yourself, you can never govern any one else) and finally upon the three basic qualities of courage, honesty, and common-sense.

AT AIBONITO, P. R., NOVEMBER 21, 1906

My Friends, my Fellow-Citizens (for whom I shall do all that I can to procure full American citizenship):

It is a real and great pleasure to be on your beautiful island, and see this beautiful city of yours. I shall do all I can for the commercial prosperity and industrial well-being of Porto Rico.

I am so much pleased at seeing the school children here. There is no body of our citizens doing more valuable work for the entire country than the men and women who are teaching school here and training the next generation. I believe so implicitly in the future of Porto Rico because I believe so implicitly in the work being done in your schools to fit the next generation to handle all the questions that arise in the island. The children should be trained in the ordinary branches of education, in industrial work, because labor must stand at the foundation of all prosperity; and finally, they should be trained in domestic and civic virtues, because in the long run a nation, a State, a commonwealth, can fit itself for full citizenship, for full self-government only by training in the practice of liberty, of order, of honesty, and justice. I wish to see every Porto Rican girl or boy who graduates from your school trained to expect and receive what is right for himself or herself, and at the same time to be scrupulous to commit no wrong to any one else. And now, gentlemen who represent the leadership of this town, you men and women of Porto Rico, and you children, I shall say to the people of the United States when I get back how proud they must be at the progress you are making and that they are fellow-citizens under the great flag.

TO THE OFFICERS AND ENLISTED MEN ON THE U. S. S. "LOUISIANA," NOVEMBER 26, 1906

Captain, and Officers and Enlisted Men of the "Louisiana":

I wish to thank you for as pleasant and interesting a trip as any President has ever had on land or sea, and a profitable trip, too. Not only I do not see how any President, but I do not see how any good American can fail to believe with all his heart in the United States Navy, can fail to do all that in him lies for the officers and men of that Navy, in order that the Navy itself may be brought to a constantly increasing state of perfection as a formidable fighting machine. This is the third of our great ships on which I have spent some time; the other two being the "West Virginia" and the "Missouri." I am very proud of the ships; I am even prouder of the men aboard the ships.

Captain, I want to thank you for your hospitality; I want to thank the wardroom; I want to thank the Chief Petty Officers' mess; and the Army and Navy Union. I want especially to thank the engineer's force for what they did this morning. I wanted to see myself what the ship could do, and I wanted them to let a link out of her; and it is more than gratifying that at the end of a three weeks' trip we should be able to do from a half to three-quarters of a knot better than her contract speed; for we went over eighteen and a half knots.

That speaks well for the engines, and it speaks even better for the engineer's force. It is a good thing.

There was another thing which I have seen which particularly interested me, Mr. Osterhaus, and that was the drill this morning in loading the seven-inch guns. I did not suppose it would be possible to load these great shells with such extraordinary speed and precision. I understand that I am not to say anything as to the methods until you have had a chance to "take the tuck" out of the other ships; so I shall only say that it behooves the other ships with seven-inch guns to look to their laurels.

One thing more I take this chance to say. I have been astounded and mortified at the attitude of certain of our people ashore in declining to allow Uncle Sam's men when they have their uniforms on to come into places of amusement. Outside of Washington I have no control over those places of amusement; in Washington I have, and any place of amusement to which admission is denied to reputable men who are behaving themselves who wear the uniform of the Army or the Navy will lose its license if it is in my power to cause the loss, and I think it is.

I want to thank you for another thing—the entertainment the other night. It was first-class; and as I have been with soldiers myself, and as I have boys at boarding school and college, it pleased me to see that there is so much human nature everywhere, and that there is *always* complaint about something in the Commissary Department! As re-

gards that particular complaint, to judge from the dinner I had with the enlisted men on the "Missouri" and the dinner I had at the Chief Petty Officers' mess here, I am afraid I can not extend you much sympathy!

Now, in closing, one word, which I think is needless. I hope that every man here, officer and enlisted man alike, will remember that his profession sets him apart from all other men in the country not in the Army or Navy, by putting upon his shoulders a peculiar responsibility. You enlisted men, if you stay in the service thirty years, and have taken reasonable advantage of your opportunities during that time, can then, perhaps at the age of fifty or fifty-five, retire on what is practically a pension of in the neighborhood of nine hundred dollars a year. Uncle Sam has your interests at heart. You have from our people a measure of hope and belief and affection such as, rightly enough, is yielded to no others. Now in return remember that each of you is in honor bound so to fit himself in time of peace that in time of war he and his comrades can render such an account of themselves as to turn a new page in the long honor roll of United States history. It will depend on how you have done your duty in time of peace whether or not, should war come, the Nation will have cause to feel pride or to feel shame. Your effectiveness in war can not be acquired after war has begun. Your effectiveness will then depend upon the way in which you officers have learned to handle the ships, singly and

in fleet formation, day in and day out, month in and month out, by actual practice on the high seas; it will depend upon the way in which you enlisted men, under the officers, under your warrant and petty officers, have learned to handle yourselves in the gun turret and engine-room. The Navy has made astounding advances in marksmanship during the past five years, and it has made them not only by developing the high quality of the individual man, but by developing the team play without which that individual man's prowess counts for nothing. It is a revelation to any man to see the work done by the gun crews with the twelve, eight, seven, six-inch guns; it is a revelation to any man to see how our people afloat are learning to work together, so as to have, in addition to the work of the gun pointers, a perfect system of fire control, just as the ships are learning to manœuvre together at a speed and a distance which ten years ago would have given the captains heart-failure if they had tried it.

I congratulate you on your progress. Remember that the instant you become contented with it and think you have gone far enough, and remain still, that very instant you will begin to go back; and I believe implicitly that you will go forward.

In conclusion let me say how glad I am to be with you, how proud as the Chief Executive of the American people I am of you, and how heartily I believe in the character and quality of the officers and enlisted men of the American fleet. I greet you and thank you again.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
December 2, 1906

MY DEAR MR. ROOT:

In view of the fact that Mr. Bellamy Storer has sent to each member of my Cabinet, as well as to myself, a pamphlet under date of November, 1906, purporting to give an account of those relations of his with me which led up to his removal from the position of ambassador at Vienna, I think it as well that you and the other members of the Cabinet should know certain facts which he either suppresses or misstates. As to the necessity for removing him from this position, I suppose there is no need of discussion. An ambassador who refuses to answer the letters of the President can not remain an ambassador. His statement that my letters to him were of a character such that he could not answer them needs no further comment than to point out that in such case it was his clear duty instantly to resign. His publication of the various private letters between his wife and himself and me would furnish any additional justification, were such needed, for his summary separation from the service. He does not give the State Department's final letter to him, which runs as follows:

"September 10, 1906

"HON. BELLAMY STORER,
Paris, France.

"SIR: Your letter of August 3 does not require any comment as a whole, but by di-

rection of the President I answer it as regards one point.

"You assume that in the letter of December 11 the President wrote you not as one official of the United States to another, but a purely personal and private letter, and you state that this letter shows on its face that no answer from you was asked for, suggested, or expected.

"It is hard to understand your making such a statement, in view of the fact that the letter you quote derives its entire importance from the accompanying letter, which you were asked to read and hand to Mrs. Storer, in which Mrs. Storer was informed that unless she took certain definite action your connection with the diplomatic service would have to be severed. It is, of course, unnecessary to discuss, and it ought to be unnecessary even to allude to, any proposition so absurd as that this severance of you from the service would be asked for, not by the President as President, but in his private capacity. The President was anxious to treat both you and Mrs. Storer with the utmost gentleness and consideration, and it seemed to him that his end could be achieved in the way easiest for you by following the course which he actually did follow. The letter to Mrs. Storer, of course, became part of the matter of which you were required to take cognizance. In it Mrs. Storer was asked to fulfil certain conditions, failure to fulfil which would require, she was informed, your severance from the service, which conditions she

never fulfilled. You were requested to read this letter and hand it to her. It is difficult to stigmatize merely as folly the proposition that under these conditions the President's letter required no answer.

"I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"ROBERT BACON,
"Acting Secretary."

It is never pleasant to have to discuss personal affairs, or to quote or explain from personal correspondence; which is one reason why it is held to be a peculiarly ungentlemanly thing to publish private correspondence. But as Mr. Storer in his extraordinary pamphlet prints various letters written by himself, by me, and by Mrs. Storer, I shall set forth briefly the facts of the case, giving certain letters which are necessary in order to understand clearly those which he prints.

I first met the Storers while I was civil service commissioner and he had come to Washington as a congressman. They were then kind and friendly in their relations with me and my family. I retained a lively recollection of this kind and friendly attitude, and because of the affection it inspired I submitted to conduct from Mr. and Mrs. Storer to which I would have submitted from no other ambassador and his wife; and I did not resent their actions until it became evident that they were likely to damage American interests. Mrs. Storer

insisted to me often that their change of creed had proved a deadly blow to her husband's career, and that they were suffering for conscience' sake. I accepted this statement as true, and it gave me a certain chivalric feeling that I ought to do what I could to help them, and be as patient as possible with them.

Under President McKinley Mr. Storer was made minister first to Belgium and then to Spain. About the time of my accession to the Vice-Presidency I wrote at President McKinley's request to Mr. or Mrs. Storer that the President desired me to say that Mr. Storer was ultimately to be made an ambassador. Mr. and Mrs. Storer were greatly interested in securing the promotion of Archbishop Ireland to be a cardinal. I had, and have, a sincere respect and admiration for Archbishop Ireland, a respect and admiration which I have often publicly expressed. The letters from me to Mr. and Mrs. Storer quoted in Mr. Storer's pamphlet give with precision my views both upon Archbishop Ireland and upon the possibility or propriety of my taking in his behalf the steps which the Storers asked, and I can add nothing to what these letters themselves show. When they first wrote to me on the subject I was governor of New York. Not being President myself, and not having thought out with clearness the exact situation, I asked President McKinley whether he could properly do anything to help Archbishop Ireland. He responded that it was not a matter with which we could with propriety inter-

fere, although he expressed himself as having the same high opinion of the archbishop that I had. I had a further conversation with the President on the subject, either just before or just after my election as Vice-President, in which he stated what he felt was the proper position; a position with which I absolutely agreed. Following this conversation, in my letter to Mrs. Storer of November 23, 1900, quoted by Mr. Storer in his pamphlet, I stated with absolute clearness my position and why it was out of the question for the President to try to get any archbishop made cardinal; and all the letters quoted by Mr. Storer as having been subsequently written by me to him or to his wife take precisely the same position. I explained repeatedly that my friendship and admiration for Archbishop Ireland (which is like my friendship and admiration for Bishop Lawrence, of the Episcopal Church, and Bishop Cranston, of the Methodist Church, like my friendship and admiration for many clergymen of many denominations—Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and others) would make me pleased to see any good fortune attend him, or any churchman like him, of any creed; but that I could not interfere for his promotion, or indeed in any way in the ecclesiastical affairs of any church. This was also the position I took in all private conversations, and the assertion that in any private conversation I took an opposite position from that which I was thus repeatedly expressing in writing is not only an

untruth, but an absurd untruth; for I would of course not say privately to any one the opposite of what I was repeatedly writing to that same person. Mr. Storer asserts that he and Mrs. Storer and various other people, after conversations with me, put down memoranda as to what they remembered I had said. If such action was taken, it was of course simply dishonorable. No one of them ever showed me or would have ventured to show me any such memoranda, and it is nonsense to expect to bind me by a memorandum the existence of which was concealed from me. The Storers were my guests at the time when, as they assert, they made these memoranda of private conversation with me. As a matter of fact, the statements they allege me to have made were not made, save in so far as what they allege me to have said agrees with what, before and after, I wrote to them. In this connection, I call your attention to the following statement issued from The White House on November 9, 1906, eleven days before I received the Storer pamphlet or had any knowledge whatever of it:

"For many years it has been the invariable practice never to attempt to quote a private conversation with the President. It has been found that as a matter of fact the man who quotes such a conversation usually misquotes it, whether consciously or unconsciously; and such an alleged conversation is under no circumstances to be held as calling for either explanation or denial by the President. The President is responsible only for

what he himself says in public; for what he writes, or for what he explicitly authorizes the proper Government officials to state in his behalf."

Mrs. Storer wrote me with great freedom, and sometimes it was difficult to know quite how to answer her. Both she and Mr. Storer continually made attacks upon all sorts of people, especially dignitaries of her own church. At one time she wrote me with great bitterness against the Protestant missionaries who were being sent to the Philippines, at the same time requesting me to champion Archbishop Ireland because he had been loyal to the United States during the war with Spain, which she asserts was not true as to another Catholic archbishop whom she named. While I was always reluctant to write in a way that would hurt the feelings of either of the Storers, on this occasion I thought it necessary to write just what my position was; and accordingly replied as follows:

May 18, 1900

"My dear Mrs. Storer:

"Your letter of the 4th has just come to hand; also that of the 6th. I am very, very fond of you, and that is the reason your letters put me in a quandary. You want me to do all kinds of things that I can not possibly do, and that I ought not to do; and you say things which I do not want to contradict, and yet it makes me feel hypocritical if I seem to acquiesce in them. You must remember that there are many other people who feel about

their religion just as you feel about *yours*. They can no more understand your turning Catholic than you can understand Catholics turning Protestant. Some of the best people I have ever met were Protestants who had originally been Catholics. I can not stop, and I can not urge the stopping of, missionaries going anywhere they choose. I emphatically feel, as I have always told you, that the chance for bettering the Catholic inhabitants of the tropic islands lies by bringing them up to the highest standard of American Catholicism. The worst thing that could happen both for them and the Catholic Church would be for the Catholic Church to champion the iniquities that have undoubtedly been committed, not only by lay, but by clerical, should-be leaders in the Philippines and elsewhere. One incident, which I actually can not put on paper, came to my personal knowledge in connection with a high Catholic ecclesiastic in Cuba, which was of a character so revolting and bestial that it made one feel that the whole hierarchy in the island needed drastic renovation. Now, I very earnestly wish that Archbishop Ireland, and those who are most advanced among our Catholic priests—men like the Paulist Fathers, for instance —should be given a free hand in these islands, and should be advanced in every way. . . . But you must remember how hampered I am in writing, from the fact that I do not like to see any one admit for a moment the right of a foreign potentate to interfere in American public policy. For instance

you speak of the Pope being angry with Archbishop Ireland for not stopping the war with Spain. As far as I am concerned, I would resent as an impertinence any European, whether Pope, Kaiser, Czar, or President, daring to be angry with any American because of his action or nonaction as regards any question between America and an outside nation. No pretension of this kind should be admitted for one moment. If any man, clerical or lay, bishop, archbishop, priest, or civilian, was in any way guilty of treasonable practices with Spain during our war, he should be shot or hung, and it is an outrage on justice that he should be at large. But I can not write in a way that will seem to *defend* a man for not averting war with Spain, for I can not recognize for a single moment the right of any European to so much as think that there is need of defence or excuse in such a case.

"As you know, I always treat Catholic and Protestant exactly alike, as I do Jew or Gentile, as I do the man of native American, German, Irish or any other kind of parentage. Any discrimination for or against a man because of his creed or nativity strikes me as an infamy. Men like Bishop Keane, like the late Father Casselly, like Father Belford, the parish priest of my own town of Oyster Bay, and like scores of other priests whom I could name, are entitled to receive from me the same measure of affectionate respect and loyal support that I have given to men like Phillips Brooks, like Mr. Devine, and like so very many

other Protestant clergymen whom I could name. Moreover, my dear Mrs. Storer, whatever I could do for you and Bellamy, would be done; but I simply do not see how I can do anything in this particular matter.

"With real regret, very sincerely yours."

As soon as I became President I began to receive letters from Mrs. Storer asking for the promotion of Mr. Storer, and letters from both of them complaining that the work in Madrid was uncongenial, and complaining also of the character and standing of various people in the public service. On September 22, 1901, eight days after President McKinley died, Mrs. Storer wrote me urging that I should appoint Mr. Storer to the Cabinet, and specifying as a desirable place the War Department, of which you were the head; the letter running, "*Please* give him either the Navy or War. . . . I pray that Bellamy, who so richly deserves it, shall have a chance for honorable service at home to his country." When I explained that I did not intend to remove any one, or make any changes in the Cabinet at the time, she wrote me on October 17, suggesting the embassies at London and Paris as fit places for her husband, and stating that Mr. Choate and General Porter were not proper persons to be ambassadors. In view of the intense indignation of Mr. and Mrs. Storer at his being removed from office now, there is a certain element of the comic in their attempt thus to get me to remove either you or Mr. Choate

or Mr. Porter for the purpose of giving Mr. Storer either a Cabinet position or the embassy in England or France. I received many letters of the general tenor of those mentioned, enumerating their hardships and services and enemies. As Mr. Storer in his pamphlet quotes a letter of November 24 from me, marked personal, in which I told his wife that he should be made special ambassador at the marriage of the King of Spain, alleging that this was a fresh mark of my approval of his conduct, I may mention that the letter containing this statement on my part was in answer to one from Mrs. Storer in which she begged for the appointment of her husband, her letter running in part as follows: "Please, *please* send us to Madrid as special envoys to the wedding. It would be very appropriate, and I would *love* it." It is hard to find the exact words in which to criticise Mr. Storer's effort to twist the meaning of my granting such a request, couched in such a style.

There remains for me to discuss but one matter, and that is Mr. Storer's assertion in his pamphlet that although in my letters I persistently refused to ask the Pope to promote Archbishop Ireland to be a cardinal, I nevertheless gave him a verbal message commissioning him to make the request, on my behalf, of the Pope. Mr. Storer also asserts that President McKinley took a similar course, commissioning a gentleman whom he names to ask the appointment of Archbishop Ireland as cardinal "as a personal favor to him," the President, and as

"an honor to the country." This is the direct contrary of what President McKinley told me was his attitude in the matter, and Mr. Cortelyou, who was then his private secretary, writes me as follows:

"Office of the Postmaster-General,
"Washington, D. C., December 1, 1906

"My dear Mr. President:

"In the pamphlet, 'Letter of Bellamy Storer to the President and the members of his Cabinet, November, 1906,' are several statements referring to the late President McKinley, among them the following:

" 'President McKinley heartily furthered the efforts made by Mr. Roosevelt, myself, and others to promote the appointment of Archbishop Ireland (as cardinal), and in the spring of 1899 he commissioned Bishop O'Gorman to say to the Pope that "that appointment would be considered a personal favor to him, the President, as well as an honor to the country." And this the bishop did, speaking in the President's name, in a personal audience with the Pope.'

"This statement of Mr. Storer distorts what was evidently an expression of deep personal regard and respect for an individual into what is in substance a request for his advancement as a member of an ecclesiastical organization. The late President never made such a request, never 'furthered the efforts' of any one to bring about such an appointment, nor would he permit any official of

his Administration to do so. He was scrupulously particular in this regard, and he made no compromise with his convictions on the subject.

"Speaking from personal knowledge of President McKinley's attitude concerning Archbishop Ireland, I wish to say that he had the highest regard for the Archbishop and believed that while devoted to his Church he was in full sympathy with American ideals, and that because of this he was able to render immeasurable service both to his Church and to his country. But if Bishop O'Gorman made any such representation as that alluded to by Mr. Storer he did so under an absolute misapprehension. I have repeatedly heard President McKinley state that in all such matters he could not divorce himself from his position as President, and that he would not under any circumstances interfere with or attempt to influence the action of any religious organization here or abroad looking to the preferment of any of its members.

"In following this course he was true to fundamental principles of the American Government, as you have been.

"What I have said regarding the particular quotation above referred to applies to any other similar reference to the late President in this pamphlet.

"Very sincerely yours,

"Geo. B. Cortelyou."

As for Mr. Storer's assertion that I authorized him to make such a statement as he says he was

authorized to make to the Pope, it is untrue. I gave him no such authorization. Mr. Storer proceeds to say that he at once wrote me a letter giving a full account of his visit to the Vatican, and of the message he personally gave the Pope. A careful search of the files in my office fails to show any such letter from him; and neither I nor my Secretary, Mr. Loeb, who receives and examines all my correspondence, have any remembrance of ever receiving such a letter; and had it been received we could not fail to remember it. I never received from him any letter giving any such account of his visit to the Vatican and his conversation with the Pope as he now says he sent me; and this is evident from the letters which he gives as written by me to him on December 27 and December 30, in which, as you will see, I specifically state that I did not know whether or not he had even called at the Vatican, and that he might "merely have seen some Cardinal privately"—a statement wholly incompatible with my having received such a letter as that which he says he sent. In his answer to this letter he never traversed or in any way alluded to, this statement of mine; which he could hardly have failed to do had he already written me such a letter as he now describes.

On December 19 I had written him, anent a verbal request made to me by an ecclesiastical friend that I should write a letter for Archbishop Ireland:

"I told him of course that I could not interfere in such a matter, as it was none of my business

who was made cardinal; that personally I had a very strong friendship and admiration for the Archbishop, and that individually it would please me greatly to see him made cardinal, just as it pleased me when Doctor Satterlee was made Bishop of Washington; but that I could no more interfere in one case than in the other—in short, that my feeling for the Archbishop was due to my respect for him as a useful and honorable man—just such a feeling as I have had for Phillips Brooks and for many other clergymen of various denominations; but that I could not as President in any way try to help any clergyman of any denomination to high rank in that denomination."

I say that I never received such a letter as that which Mr. Storer alleges he wrote me. I may add that I am by no means certain he ever sent me such a letter; my doubt being due to the facts I am about to set forth, which show that when he now attempts to describe the letters he sent me, Mr. Storer's memory becomes marvelously treacherous.

On pages 23 to 25 of his pamphlet, Mr. Storer writes as follows (he having first stated that from my letters he gathered that I had resolved to repudiate all authority for his action, and to appear ignorant of it):

"Shortly after writing this I received another letter from the President. I quote the portions referring to this matter:

" 'Let me repeat to you that in reference to matters affecting the Catholic Church events have abso-

lutely (and conclusively) shown that while you are ambassador you must keep absolutely clear of any deed or word in Rome or elsewhere which would seem to differentiate your position from that of other ambassadors. The mere fact of a (the) report in the newspapers about your calling at the Vatican (has) had a very unfortunate effect. I dare say you did not call. You may merely have seen some cardinal privately, but the unpleasant talk over the affair emphasizes the need of extreme circumspection while you are in your present position. While I am President and you are ambassador neither of us in his public relation(s) is to act as Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile, and we have to be careful not merely to do what is right, but so to carry ourselves as to show that we are doing what is right. I shall ask you not to quote me to any person in any shape or way in connection with any affair of the Catholic Church and yourself not to take action of any kind which will give ground for the belief that you as an American ambassador are striving to interfere in the affairs of the Church.'

"This letter, with its virtual assertion that my visit to the Vatican was not only unauthorized, but was so contrary to what could have been expected that the President hardly then believed that it had occurred, was unintelligible except on the theory that he had resolved to repudiate all authority for my action, and to appear ignorant of it, and was now writing a letter which would be serviceable if

needed later as evidence to support that position. In fact, this was the use to which the letter was afterward actually put by him in quoting it to persons not informed of the facts, as will appear later. I felt that the only thing for me to do in this situation was to tender my resignation at once, and that I immediately did, accompanying it by a letter to the President of which I regret to say that I can find no copy. To this I received the following reply:

"'The White House, Washington,
January 29, 1904

"'Dear Bellamy:

"'I have your letter. It is absolutely all right; we will treat the incident as closed. Nothing would persuade me to accept your resignation, old fellow, and I am sure John Hay feels as I do. When I see you I shall explain, as I do not like to do on paper, both how full had been the steps taken by Hay in investigating the matter, and the use that was made against me of your letter. I shall give Hay your note. Faithfully yours.'

"With this the incident closed. I had followed exactly the President's request in seeing Pope Pius X. I had reported to him in detail my interview; I had put it squarely to him that I had done nothing beyond what he had asked me to do, and he had thereupon left the subject, not disavowing his authority nor dissenting from any statement. I accordingly accepted as sincere the cordial expres-

sions with which he refused to accept my resignation, as it was apparent that his irritation had been caused, not by my acts, but by the publicity which had unfortunately been given to things which he wished to have done, but wished to be kept secret."

Fortunately, I have the original of the letter of which Mr. Storer says he kept no copy, and it shows that Mr. Storer's statement is false. This letter was in answer to a letter of mine which he quotes in part, but which in its entirety is as follows:

"The White House, Washington,
December 30, 1903

"My dear Bellamy:

"In my last letter to you I wrote you as to a report I had heard about your writing a letter concerning the dismissal of Hurst. This came to me from an outside source, and I did not credit it. Since then Secretary Hay has sent me over a letter (of yours) to Senator Hanna, which the latter put before the Department with a request that he be given information in order to answer you. Secretary Hay feels, of course, exceedingly indignant over your having written in such a manner to any outsider, and feels that there should be some official rebuke. Because of our personal relations I write in this way to you instead.

"I hardly think you could have thought exactly what you were writing. You say, for instance, about the dismissal of Hurst, 'I do know the man-

ner of his removal, in a way I should be ashamed to employ with a common servant. . . . I have never known, if what I hear is the case, of a more sudden or unexpected action of any Administration. . . . It may be none of your business nor mine, but I know you do not like injustice.'

"Of course, this amounts to a bitter attack upon the Administration, of which you are a part. You make charges of a grave nature against the Secretary of State and the President under whom you are serving. If these charges were true, that would not, in my opinion, justify you in writing to the Senator in such fashion. As it happens, they are absolutely without foundation. No case was gone into more carefully than this. I have reports before me from Ambassador McCormick and from a special and trusted agent of the Department—a man in whose judgment the Department has absolute confidence. No other action was possible in view of these reports.

"I know, my dear Bellamy, that you have not intended to do anything disloyal or improper, but surely on thinking over the matter you will see that there would be but one possible construction to be put upon such a letter from you. Think of the effect if your letter were made public!

"Let me repeat to you that, in reference to matters affecting the Catholic Church, events have conclusively shown that while you are ambassador you must keep absolutely clear of any deed or word in Rome or elsewhere which would seem to differen-

tiate your position from that of other ambassadors. The mere fact of the report in the newspapers about your calling at the Vatican has had a very unfortunate effect. I dare say you did not call; you may merely have seen some cardinal privately; but the unpleasant talk over the affair emphasizes the need of extreme circumspection while you are in your present position. While I am President and you are ambassador neither of us in his public relations is to act as Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; and we have to be careful, not merely to do what is right, but so to carry ourselves as to show that we are doing what is right. I shall ask you not to quote me to any person in any shape or way in connection with any affair of the Catholic Church, and yourself not to take action of any kind which will give ground for the belief that you, as an American ambassador, are striving to interfere in the affairs of the Church.

"With love to Maria. Faithfully yours."

In response to this Mr. Storer wrote me a letter tendering his resignation, not as he asserts because of anything in connection with his visit to the Vatican, but solely because of his conduct in the Hurst matter. In this letter, in answer to mine of December 30, he makes absolutely no allusion whatever to what I said in that letter as to his call at the Vatican; this letter of mine shows that I had then never heard from him that he called at the Vatican; and his absolute silence at the time shows that what

he says now on the subject is a pure afterthought. He never in any way dissented from the statements I made in these three letters of December 19, 27, and 30; and in this letter of January 16, in which he tendered his resignation, his whole concern was over his conduct in the Hurst affair. His letter runs in part as follows (all the omitted parts referring also exclusively to the Hurst matter):

"*16 January, 1904*

"My dear Theodore:

"I find in answering your letter of December — that I made an error of date. The letter I wrote Hanna, as also the writing to yourself on the consul-general matter, was after 22d February, 1903, instead of in January, as I inadvertently stated. Since then I have received your second letter of 30 December.

"My writing any letter in the terms I did was inexcusable, and that I admit fully and with the deepest regret. . . . If in your judgment it would clear me in Mr. Hay's eyes, will you hand him the enclosed note of personal apology? But I beg you will do this or not as you think wise, as I must not appear to try to escape official censure by personal repentance. Therefore, give or burn this note, as you deem best. Not to justify my writing at all, or in using the language I did, but to explain the affair, I must call attention to the difference of procedure in this consular case as to what I had supposed was precedent. . . . All this is no excuse for

a public officer writing as I did outside of the Department. If in weighing the matter it seems as if I by my own act have lost the confidence of the Secretary of State, you must, without regard to me, treat me as you would any other public officer for the good of the service. Without the confidence of the Department the work can not go on. But for your own sake I should wish that my leaving the service might be made to appear a voluntary one, in the spring or early summer. As also I think it would be better to have it known after June. In spite of everything, it might make political gossip which I should wish to postpone until the din of the campaign is on. I thank you, my dear Theodore, loyally and sincerely, for your letter. I never doubt your absolute loyalty in friendship to me and mine.

"Faithfully yours."

There could be no fuller confession of wrong-doing or more absolute throwing himself upon the mercy of his superior. It was this letter which I answered saying, as he has himself quoted, that I would treat the incident as closed and would not accept his resignation, and that I was sure that John Hay felt as I did. With peculiar perfidy, Mr. Storer now seeks to turn this act of cordial, and I think I may add generous, friendship on my part, into an attack upon me by treating my refusal to accept his resignation as an endorsement of his position in the matter of the Vatican, to which there

was absolutely no allusion whatever of any kind or sort in his letter of resignation.

This bare recital of facts is in itself the severest possible condemnation of Mr. Storer's disingenuousness. Very truly yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

HON. ELIHU ROOT,
Secretary of State.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SECOND SESSION OF THE FIFTY-NINTH CONGRESS, DECEMBER 3, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

As a nation we still continue to enjoy a literally unprecedented prosperity; and it is probable that only reckless speculation and disregard of legitimate business methods on the part of the business world can materially mar this prosperity.

No Congress in our time has done more good work of importance than the present Congress. There were several matters left unfinished at your last session, however, which I most earnestly hope you will complete before your adjournment.

I again recommend a law prohibiting all corporations from contributing to the campaign expenses of any party. Such a bill has already passed one House of Congress. Let individuals contribute as they desire; but let us prohibit in effective fashion

all corporations from making contributions for any political purpose, directly or indirectly.

Another bill which has just passed one House of the Congress and which it is urgently necessary should be enacted into law is that conferring upon the Government the right of appeal in criminal cases on questions of law. This right exists in many of the States; it exists in the District of Columbia by act of the Congress. It is of course not proposed that in any case a verdict for the defendant on the merits should be set aside. Recently in one district where the Government had indicted certain persons for conspiracy in connection with rebates, the court sustained the defendant's demurrer; while in another jurisdiction an indictment for conspiracy to obtain rebates has been sustained by the court, convictions obtained under it, and two defendants sentenced to imprisonment. The two cases referred to may not be in real conflict with each other, but it is unfortunate that there should even be an apparent conflict. At present there is no way by which the Government can cause such a conflict, when it occurs, to be solved by an appeal to a higher court; and the wheels of justice are blocked without any real decision of the question. I can not too strongly urge the passage of the bill in question. A failure to pass it will result in seriously hampering the Government in its effort to obtain justice, especially against wealthy individuals or corporations who do wrong; and may also pre-

deciding, in certain cases, to undertake criminal proceedings was justifiable: and though there have been some conspicuous failures in these cases, we have had many successes, which have undoubtedly had a deterrent effect upon evil-doers, whether the penalty inflicted was in the shape of fine or imprisonment—and penalties of both kinds have already been inflicted by the courts. Of course, where the judge can see his way to inflict the penalty of imprisonment the deterrent effect of the punishment on other offenders is increased: but sufficiently heavy fines accomplish much. Judge Holt, of the New York District Court, in a recent decision admirably stated the need for treating with just severity offenders of this kind. His opinion runs in part as follows:

"The Government's evidence to establish the defendant's guilt was clear, conclusive, and undisputed. The case was a flagrant one. The transactions which took place under this illegal contract were very large, the amounts of rebates returned were considerable: and the amount of the rebate itself was large, amounting to more than one-fifth of the entire tariff charge for the transportation of merchandise from this city to Detroit. It is not too much to say, in my opinion, that if this business was carried on for a considerable time on that basis—that is, if this discrimination in favor of this particular shipper was made with an eighteen instead of a twenty-three cent rate, and the tariff rate was maintained as against their competitors—the result might be and not improbably would be

that their competitors would be driven out of business. This crime is one which in its nature is deliberate and premeditated. I think over a fortnight elapsed between the date of Palmer's letter requesting the reduced rate and the answer of the railroad company deciding to grant it, and then for months afterward this business was carried on and these claims for rebates submitted month after month and checks in payment of them drawn month after month. Such a violation of the law, in my opinion, in its essential nature, is a very much more heinous act than the ordinary common, vulgar crimes which come before criminal courts constantly for punishment, and which arise from sudden passion or temptation. This crime in this case was committed by men of education and of large business experience, whose standing in the community was such that they might have been expected to set an example of obedience to law, upon the maintenance of which alone in this country the security of their property depends. It was committed on behalf of a great railroad corporation, which, like other railroad corporations, has received gratuitously from the State large and valuable privileges for the public's convenience and its own, which performs quasi public functions and which is charged with the highest obligation in the transaction of its business to treat the citizens of this country alike, and not to carry on its business with unjust discriminations between different citizens or different classes of citizens. This crime in its nature is one usually done with secrecy,

and proof of which it is very difficult to obtain. The interstate commerce act was passed in 1887, nearly twenty years ago. Ever since that time complaints of the granting of rebates by railroads has been common, urgent, and insistent, and although the Congress has repeatedly passed legislation endeavoring to put a stop to this evil, the difficulty of obtaining proof upon which to bring prosecution in these cases is so great that this is the first case that has ever been brought in this court, and, as I am informed, this case and one recently brought in Philadelphia are the only cases that have ever been brought in the eastern part of this country. In fact, but few cases of this kind have ever been brought in this country, East or West. Now, under these circumstances, I am forced to the conclusion, in a case in which the proof is so clear and the facts are so flagrant, it is the duty of the court to fix a penalty which shall in some degree be commensurate with the gravity of the offence. As between the two defendants, in my opinion, the principal penalty should be imposed on the corporation. The traffic manager in this case, presumably, acted without any advantage to himself and without any interest in the transaction, either by the direct authority or in accordance with what he understood to be the policy or the wishes of his employer.

"The sentence of this court in this case is, that the defendant Pomeroy, for each of the six offences upon which he has been convicted, be fined the sum of $1,000, making six fines, amounting in all to the

sum of $6,000; and the defendant, The New York Central and Hudson River Railroad Company, for each of the six crimes of which it has been convicted, be fined the sum of $18,000, making six fines amounting in the aggregate to the sum of $108,000, and judgment to that effect will be entered in this case."

In connection with this matter, I would like to call attention to the very unsatisfactory state of our criminal law, resulting in large part from the habit of setting aside the judgments of inferior courts on technicalities absolutely unconnected with the merits of the case, and where there is no attempt to show that there has been any failure of substantial justice. It would be well to enact a law providing something to the effect that:

No judgment shall be set aside or new trial granted in any cause, civil or criminal, on the ground of misdirection of the jury or the improper admission or rejection of evidence, or for error as to any matter of pleading or procedure unless, in the opinion of the court to which the application is made, after an examination of the entire cause, it shall affirmatively appear that the error complained of has resulted in a miscarriage of justice.

In my last message I suggested the enactment of a law in connection with the issuance of injunctions, attention having been sharply drawn to the matter by the demand that the right of applying injunctions

in labor cases should be wholly abolished. It is at least doubtful whether a law abolishing altogether the use of injunctions in such cases would stand the test of the courts; in which case of course the legislation would be ineffective. Moreover, I believe it would be wrong altogether to prohibit the use of injunctions. It is criminal to permit sympathy for criminals to weaken our hands in upholding the law; and if men seek to destroy life or property by mob violence there should be no impairment of the power of the courts to deal with them in the most summary and effective way possible. But so far as possible the abuse of the power should be provided against by some such law as I advocated last year.

In this matter of injunctions there is lodged in the hands of the judiciary a necessary power which is nevertheless subject to the possibility of grave abuse. It is a power that should be exercised with extreme care and should be subject to the jealous scrutiny of all men, and condemnation should be meted out as much to the judge who fails to use it boldly when necessary as to the judge who uses it wantonly or oppressively. Of course a judge strong enough to be fit for his office will enjoin any resort to violence or intimidation, especially by conspiracy, no matter what his opinion may be of the rights of the original quarrel. There must be no hesitation in dealing with disorder. But there must likewise be no such abuse of the injunctive power as is implied in forbidding laboring men to strive for their own betterment in peaceful and lawful ways; nor must the

injunction be used merely to aid some big corporation in carrying out schemes for its own aggrandizement. It must be remembered that a preliminary injunction in a labor case, if granted without adequate proof (even when authority can be found to support the conclusions of law on which it is founded), may often settle the dispute between the parties; and therefore if improperly granted may do irreparable wrong. Yet there are many judges who assume a matter-of-course granting of a preliminary injunction to be the ordinary and proper judicial disposition of such cases; and there have undoubtedly been flagrant wrongs committed by judges in connection with labor disputes even within the last few years, although I think much less often than in former years. Such judges by their unwise action immensely strengthen the hands of those who are striving entirely to do away with the power of injunction; and therefore such careless use of the injunctive process tends to threaten its very existence, for if the American people ever become convinced that this process is habitually abused, whether in matters affecting labor or in matters affecting corporations, it will be wellnigh impossible to prevent its abolition.

It may be the highest duty of a judge at any given moment to disregard, not merely the wishes of individuals of great political or financial power, but the overwhelming tide of public sentiment; and the judge who does thus disregard public sentiment when it is wrong, who brushes aside the plea of any

special interest when the pleading is not founded on righteousness, performs the highest service to the country. Such a judge is deserving of all honor; and all honor can not be paid to this wise and fearless judge if we permit the growth of an absurd convention which would forbid any criticism of the judge of another type, who shows himself timid in the presence of arrogant disorder, or who on insufficient grounds grants an injunction that does grave injustice, or who in his capacity as a construer, and therefore in part a maker, of the law, in flagrant fashion thwarts the cause of decent government. The judge has a power over which no review can be exercised; he himself sits in review upon the acts of both the executive and legislative branches of the Government; save in the most extraordinary cases he is amenable only at the bar of public opinion; and it is unwise to maintain that public opinion in reference to a man with such power shall neither be expressed nor led.

The best judges have ever been foremost to disclaim any immunity from criticism. This has been true since the days of the great English Lord Chancellor Parker, who said: "Let all people be at liberty to know what I found my judgment upon; that, so when I have given it in any cause, others may be at liberty to judge of *me*." The proprieties of the case were set forth with singular clearness and good temper by Judge W. H. Taft, when a United States Circuit judge, eleven years ago, in 1895:

"The opportunity freely and publicly to criticize judicial action is of vastly more importance to the body politic than the immunity of courts and judges from unjust aspersions and attack. Nothing tends more to render judges careful in their decisions and anxiously solicitous to do exact justice than the consciousness that every act of theirs is to be subjected to the intelligent scrutiny and candid criticism of their fellow-men. Such criticism is beneficial in proportion as it is fair, dispassionate, discriminating, and based on a knowledge of sound legal principles. The comments made by learned text writers and by the acute editors of the various law reviews upon judicial decisions are therefore highly useful. Such critics constitute more or less impartial tribunals of professional opinion before which each judgment is made to stand or fall on its merits, and thus exert a strong influence to secure uniformity of decision. But non-professional criticism also is by no means without its uses, even if accompanied, as it often is, by a direct attack upon the judicial fairness and motives of the occupants of the bench; for if the law is but the essence of common-sense, the protest of many average men may evidence a defect in a judicial conclusion, though based on the nicest legal reasoning and profoundest learning. The two important elements of moral character in a judge are an earnest desire to reach a just conclusion and courage to enforce it. In so far as fear of public comment does not affect the courage of a judge, but only spurs him on to search his conscience and

to reach the result which approves itself to his inmost heart, such comment serves a useful purpose. There are few men, whether they are judges for life or for a shorter term, who do not prefer to earn and hold the respect of all, and who can not be reached and made to pause and deliberate by hostile public criticism. In the case of judges having a life tenure, indeed, their very independence makes the right freely to comment on their decisions of greater importance, because it is the only practical and available instrument in the hands of a free people to keep such judges alive to the reasonable demands of those they serve.

"On the other hand, the danger of destroying the proper influence of judicial decisions by creating unfounded prejudices against the courts justifies and requires that unjust attacks shall be met and answered. Courts must ultimately rest their defence upon the inherent strength of the opinions they deliver as the ground for their conclusions and must trust to the calm and deliberate judgment of all the people as their best vindication."

There is one consideration which should be taken into account by the good people who carry a sound proposition to an excess in objecting to any criticism of a judge's decision. The instinct of the American people as a whole is sound in this matter. They will not subscribe to the doctrine that any public servant is to be above all criticism. If the best citizens, those most competent to express their judgment in such matters, and above all those

belonging to the great and honorable profession of the bar, so profoundly influential in American life, take the position that there shall be no criticism of a judge under any circumstances, their view will not be accepted by the American people as a whole. In such event the people will turn to, and tend to accept as justifiable, the intemperate and improper criticism uttered by unworthy agitators. Surely it is a misfortune to leave to such critics a function, right in itself, which they are certain to abuse. Just and temperate criticism, when necessary, is a safeguard against the acceptance by the people as a whole of that intemperate antagonism toward the judiciary which must be combated by every right-thinking man, and which, if it became widespread among the people at large, would constitute a dire menace to the Republic.

In connection with the delays of the law, I call your attention and the attention of the Nation to the prevalence of crime among us, and above all to the epidemic of lynching and mob violence that springs up, now in one part of our country, now in another. Each section, North, South, East, or West, has its own faults; no section can with wisdom spend its time jeering at the faults of another section; it should be busy trying to amend its own shortcomings. To deal with the crime of corruption it is necessary to have an awakened public conscience, and to supplement this by whatever legislation will add speed and certainty in the exe-

cution of the law. When we deal with lynching even more is necessary. A great many white men are lynched, but the crime is peculiarly frequent in respect to black men. The greatest existing cause of lynching is the perpetration, especially by black men, of the hideous crime of rape—the most abominable in all the category of crimes, even worse than murder. Mobs frequently avenge the commission of this crime by themselves torturing to death the man committing it; thus avenging in bestial fashion a bestial deed, and reducing themselves to a level with the criminal.

Lawlessness grows by what it feeds upon; and when mobs begin to lynch for rape they speedily extend the sphere of their operations and lynch for many other kinds of crimes, so that two-thirds of the lynchings are not for rape at all; while a considerable proportion of the individuals lynched are innocent of all crime. Governor Candler of Georgia stated on one occasion some years ago: "I can say of a verity that I have, within the last month, saved the lives of half a dozen innocent negroes who were pursued by the mob, and brought them to trial in a court of law in which they were acquitted." As Bishop Galloway of Mississippi has finely said: "When the rule of a mob obtains, that which distinguishes a high civilization is surrendered. The mob which lynches a negro charged with rape will in a little while lynch a white man suspected of crime. Every Christian patriot in America needs to lift up his voice in loud and eternal protest

against the mob spirit that is threatening the integrity of this Republic." Governor Jelks of Alabama has recently spoken as follows: "The lynching of any person for whatever crime is inexcusable anywhere—it is a defiance of orderly government; but the killing of innocent people under any provocation is infinitely more horrible; and yet innocent people are likely to die when a mob's terrible lust is once aroused. The lesson is this: No good citizen can afford to countenance a defiance of the statutes, no matter what the provocation. The innocent frequently suffer, and, it is my observation, more usually suffer than the guilty. The white people of the South indict the whole colored race on the ground that even the better elements lend no assistance whatever in ferreting out criminals of their own color. The respectable colored people must learn not to harbor their criminals, but to assist the officers in bringing them to justice. This is the larger crime, and it provokes such atrocious offences as the one at Atlanta. The two races can never get on until there is an understanding on the part of both to make common cause with the law-abiding against criminals of any color."

Moreover, where any crime committed by a member of one race against a member of another race is avenged in such fashion that it seems as if not the individual criminal, but the whole race, is attacked, the result is to exasperate to the highest degree race feeling. There is but one safe rule in dealing with black men as with white men: it is

the same rule that must be applied in dealing with rich men and poor men; that is, to treat each man, whatever his color, his creed, or his social position, with even-handed justice on his real worth as a man. White people owe it quite as much to themselves as to the colored race to treat well the colored man who shows by his life that he deserves such treatment; for it is surely the highest wisdom to encourage in the colored race all those individuals who are honest, industrious, law-abiding, and who therefore make good and safe neighbors and citizens. Reward or punish the individual on his merits as an individual. Evil will surely come in the end to both races if we substitute for this just rule the habit of treating all the members of the race, good and bad, alike. There is no question of "social equality" or "negro domination" involved; only the question of relentlessly punishing bad men, and of securing to the good man the right to his life, his liberty, and the pursuit of his happiness as his own qualities of heart, head, and hand enable him to achieve it.

Every colored man should realize that the worst enemy of his race is the negro criminal, and above all the negro criminal who commits the dreadful crime of rape; and it should be felt as in the highest degree an offence against the whole country, and against the colored race in particular, for a colored man to fail to help the officers of the law in hunting down with all possible earnestness and zeal every such infamous offender. Moreover, in my judg-

ment, the crime of rape should always be punished with death, as is the case with murder; assault with intent to commit rape should be made a capital crime, at least in the discretion of the court; and provision should be made by which the punishment may follow immediately upon the heels of the offence; while the trial should be so conducted that the victim need not be wantonly shamed while giving testimony, and that the least possible publicity shall be given to the details.

The members of the white race on the other hand should understand that every lynching represents by just so much a loosening of the bands of civilization; that the spirit of lynching inevitably throws into prominence in the community all the foul and evil creatures who dwell therein. No man can take part in the torture of a human being without having his own moral nature permanently lowered. Every lynching means just so much moral deterioration in all the children who have any knowledge of it, and therefore just so much additional trouble for the next generation of Americans.

Let justice be both sure and swift; but let it be justice under the law, and not the wild and crooked savagery of a mob.

There is another matter which has a direct bearing upon this matter of lynching and of the brutal crime which sometimes calls it forth and at other times merely furnishes the excuse for its existence. It is out of the question for our people as a whole permanently to rise by treading down any of their

own number. Even those who themselves for the moment profit by such maltreatment of their fellows will in the long run also suffer. No more shortsighted policy can be imagined than, in the fancied interest of one class, to prevent the education of another class. The free public school, the chance for each boy or girl to get a good elementary education, lies at the foundation of our whole political situation. In every community the poorest citizens, those who need the schools most, would be deprived of them if they only received school facilities proportioned to the taxes they paid. This is as true of one portion of our country as of another. It is as true for the negro as for the white man. The white man, if he is wise, will decline to allow the negroes in a mass to grow to manhood and womanhood without education. Unquestionably education such as is obtained in our public schools does not do everything toward making a man a good citizen; but it does much. The lowest and most brutal criminals, those for instance who commit the crime of rape, are in the great majority men who have had either no education or very little; just as they are almost invariably men who own no property; for the man who puts money by out of his earnings, like the man who acquires education, is usually lifted above mere brutal criminality. Of course the best type of education for the colored man, taken as a whole, is such education as is conferred in schools like Hampton and Tuskegee; where the boys and girls, the young men and young

women, are trained industrially as well as in the ordinary public school branches. The graduates of these schools turn out well in the great majority of cases, and hardly any of them become criminals, while what little criminality there is never takes the form of that brutal violence which invites lynch law. Every graduate of these schools—and for the matter of that every other colored man or woman—who leads a life so useful and honorable as to win the good will and respect of those whites whose neighbor he or she is, thereby helps the whole colored race as it can be helped in no other way; for next to the negro himself, the man who can do most to help the negro is his white neighbor who lives near him; and our steady effort should be to better the relations between the two. Great though the benefit of these schools has been to their colored pupils and to the colored people, it may well be questioned whether the benefit has not been at least as great to the white people among whom these colored pupils live after they graduate.

Be it remembered, furthermore, that the individuals who, whether from folly, from evil temper, from greed for office, or in a spirit of mere base demagogy, indulge in the inflammatory and incendiary speeches and writings which tend to arouse mobs and to bring about lynching, not only thus excite the mob, but also tend by what criminologists call "suggestion," greatly to increase the likelihood of a repetition of the very crime against which they are inveighing. When the mob is

composed of the people of one race and the man lynched is of another race, the men who in their speeches and writings either excite or justify the action tend, of course, to excite a bitter race feeling and to cause the people of the opposite race to lose sight of the abominable act of the criminal himself; and in addition, by the prominence they give to the hideous deed they undoubtedly tend to excite in other brutal and depraved natures thoughts of committing it. Swift, relentless, and orderly punishment under the law is the only way by which criminality of this type can permanently be suppressed.

In dealing with both labor and capital, with the questions affecting both corporations and trades unions, there is one matter more important to remember than aught else, and that is the infinite harm done by preachers of mere discontent. These are the men who seek to excite a violent class hatred against all men of wealth. They seek to turn wise and proper movements for the better control of corporations and for doing away with the abuses connected with wealth into a campaign of hysterical excitement and falsehood in which the aim is to inflame to madness the brutal passions of mankind. The sinister demagogues and foolish visionaries who are always eager to undertake such a campaign of destruction sometimes seek to associate themselves with those working for a genuine reform in governmental and social methods, and

sometimes masquerade as such reformers. In reality they are the worst enemies of the cause they profess to advocate, just as the purveyors of sensational slander in newspaper or magazine are the worst enemies of all men who are engaged in an honest effort to better what is bad in our social and governmental conditions. To preach hatred of the rich man as such, to carry on a campaign of slander and invective against him, to seek to mislead and inflame to madness honest men whose lives are hard and who have not the kind of mental training which will permit them to appreciate the danger in the doctrines preached—all this is to commit a crime against the body politic and to be false to every worthy principle and tradition of American national life. Moreover, while such preaching and such agitation may give a livelihood and a certain notoriety to some of those who take part in it, and may result in the temporary political success of others, in the long run every such movement will either fail or else will provoke a violent reaction, which will itself result not merely in undoing the mischief wrought by the demagogue and the agitator, but also in undoing the good that the honest reformer, the true upholder of popular rights, has painfully and laboriously achieved. Corruption is never so rife as in communities where the demagogue and the agitator bear full sway, because in such communities all moral bands become loosened, and hysteria and sensationalism replace the spirit of sound judgment and fair dealing as between man

and man. In sheer revolt against the squalid anarchy thus produced men are sure in the end to turn toward any leader who can restore order, and then their relief at being free from the intolerable burdens of class hatred, violence, and demagogy is such that they can not for some time be aroused to indignation against misdeeds by men of wealth; so that they permit a new growth of the very abuses which were in part responsible for the original outbreak. The one hope for success for our people lies in a resolute and fearless, but sane and cool-headed, advance along the path marked out last year by this very Congress. There must be a stern refusal to be misled into following either that base creature who appeals and panders to the lowest instincts and passions in order to arouse one set of Americans against their fellows, or that other creature, equally base but no baser, who in a spirit of greed, or to accumulate or add to an already huge fortune, seeks to exploit his fellow-Americans with callous disregard to their welfare of soul and body. The man who debauches others in order to obtain a high office stands on an evil equality of corruption with the man who debauches others for financial profit; and when hatred is sown the crop which springs up can only be evil.

The plain people who think—the mechanics, farmers, merchants, workers with head or hand, the men to whom American traditions are dear, who love their country and try to act decently by their neighbors, owe it to themselves to remember that the most

damaging blow that can be given popular government is to elect an unworthy and sinister agitator on a platform of violence and hypocrisy. Whenever such an issue is raised in this country, nothing can be gained by flinching from it, for in such case democracy is itself on trial, popular self-government under republican forms is itself on trial. The triumph of the mob is just as evil a thing as the triumph of the plutocracy, and to have escaped one danger avails nothing whatever if we succumb to the other. In the end the honest man, whether rich or poor, who earns his own living and tries to deal justly by his fellows, has as much to fear from the insincere and unworthy demagogue, promising much and performing nothing, or else performing nothing but evil, who would set on the mob to plunder the rich, as from the crafty corruptionist, who, for his own ends, would permit the common people to be exploited by the very wealthy. If we ever let this Government fall into the hands of men of either of these two classes, we shall show ourselves false to America's past. Moreover, the demagogue and the corruptionist often work hand in hand. There are at this moment wealthy reactionaries of such obtuse morality that they regard the public servant who prosecutes them when they violate the law, or who seeks to make them bear their proper share of the public burdens, as being even more objectionable than the violent agitator who hounds on the mob to plunder the rich. There is nothing to choose between such a reactionary and

such an agitator; fundamentally they are alike in their selfish disregard of the rights of others; and it is natural that they should join in opposition to any movement of which the aim is fearlessly to do exact and even justice to all.

I call your attention to the need of passing the bill limiting the number of hours of employment of railroad employees. The measure is a very moderate one, and I can conceive of no serious objection to it. Indeed, so far as it is in our power, it should be our aim steadily to reduce the number of hours of labor, with as a goal the general introduction of an eight-hour day. There are industries in which it is not possible that the hours of labor should be reduced; just as there are communities not far enough advanced for such a movement to be for their good, or, if in the Tropics, so situated that there is no analogy between their needs and ours in this matter. On the Isthmus of Panama, for instance, the conditions are in every way so different from what they are here that an eight-hour day would be absurd; just as it is absurd, so far as the Isthmus is concerned, where white labor can not be employed, to bother as to whether the necessary work is done by alien black men or by alien yellow men. But the wage-workers of the United States are of so high a grade that alike from the merely industrial standpoint and from the civic standpoint it should be our object to do what we can in the direction of securing the general ob-

servance of an eight-hour day. Until recently the eight-hour law on our Federal statute books has been very scantily observed. Now, however, largely through the instrumentality of the Bureau of Labor, it is being rigidly enforced, and I shall speedily be able to say whether or not there is need of further legislation in reference thereto; for our purpose is to see it obeyed in spirit no less than in letter. Half-holidays during summer should be established for Government employees; it is as desirable for wage-workers who toil with their hands as for salaried officials whose labor is mental that there should be a reasonable amount of holiday.

The Congress at its last session wisely provided for a truant court for the District of Columbia; a marked step in advance on the path of properly caring for the children. Let me again urge that the Congress provide for a thorough investigation of the conditions of child labor and of the labor of women in the United States. More and more our people are growing to recognize the fact that the questions which are not merely of industrial but of social importance outweigh all others; and these two questions most emphatically come in the category of those which affect in the most far-reaching way the home life of the Nation. The horrors incident to the employment of young children in factories or at work anywhere are a blot on our civilization. It is true that each State must ultimately settle the question in its own way; but a

thorough official investigation of the matter, with the results published broadcast, would greatly help toward arousing the public conscience and securing unity of State action in the matter. There is, however, one law on the subject which should be enacted immediately, because there is no need for an investigation in reference thereto, and the failure to enact it is discreditable to the National Government. A drastic and thoroughgoing child-labor law should be enacted for the District of Columbia and the Territories.

Among the excellent laws which the Congress passed at the last session was an employers' liability law. It was a marked step in advance to get the recognition of employers' liability on the statute books; but the law did not go far enough. In spite of all precautions exercised by employers there are unavoidable accidents and even deaths involved in nearly every line of business connected with the mechanic arts. This inevitable sacrifice of life may be reduced to a minimum, but it can not be completely eliminated. It is a great social injustice to compel the employee, or rather the family of the killed or disabled victim, to bear the entire burden of such an inevitable sacrifice. In other words, society shirks its duty by laying the whole cost on the victim, whereas the injury comes from what may be called the legitimate risks of the trade. Compensation for accidents or deaths due in any line of industry to the actual conditions under which

that industry is carried on, should be paid by that portion of the community for the benefit of which the industry is carried on—that is, by those who profit by the industry. If the entire trade risk is placed upon the employer he will promptly and properly add it to the legitimate cost of production and assess it proportionately upon the consumers of his commodity. It is therefore clear to my mind that the law should place this entire "risk of a trade" upon the employer. Neither the Federal law, nor, as far as I am informed, the State laws dealing with the question of employers' liability are sufficiently thoroughgoing. The Federal law should of course include employees in navy yards, arsenals, and the like.

The commission appointed by the President, October 16, 1902, at the request of both the anthracite coal operators and miners, to inquire into, consider, and pass upon the questions in controversy in connection with the strike in the anthracite regions of Pennsylvania and the causes out of which the controversy arose, in their report, findings, and award expressed the belief "that the State and Federal Governments should provide the machinery for what may be called the compulsory investigation of controversies between employers and employees when they arise." This expression of belief is deserving of the favorable consideration of the Congress and the enactment of its provisions into law. A bill has already been introduced to this end.

Records show that during the twenty years from January 1, 1881, to December 31, 1900, there were strikes affecting 117,509 establishments, and 6,105,-694 employees were thrown out of employment. During the same period there were 1,005 lock-outs, involving nearly 10,000 establishments, throwing over one million people out of employment. These strikes and lockouts involved an estimated loss to employees of $307,000,000 and to employers of $143,000,000, a total of $450,000,000. The public suffered directly and indirectly probably as great additional loss. But the money loss, great as it was, did not measure the anguish and suffering endured by the wives and children of employees whose pay stopped when their work stopped, or the disastrous effect of the strike or lockout upon the business of employers, or the increase in the cost of products and the inconvenience and loss to the public.

Many of these strikes and lockouts would not have occurred had the parties to the dispute been required to appear before an unprejudiced body representing the Nation and, face to face, state the reasons for their contention. In most instances the dispute would doubtless be found to be due to a misunderstanding by each of the other's rights, aggravated by an unwillingness of either party to accept as true the statements of the other as to the justice or injustice of the matters in dispute. The exercise of a judicial spirit by a disinterested body representing the Federal Government, such as would

be provided by a commission on conciliation and arbitration, would tend to create an atmosphere of friendliness and conciliation between contending parties; and the giving each side an equal opportunity to present fully its case in the presence of the other would prevent many disputes from developing into serious strikes or lockouts, and, in other cases, would enable the commission to persuade the opposing parties to come to terms.

In this age of great corporate and labor combinations, neither employers nor employees should be left completely at the mercy of the stronger party to a dispute, regardless of the righteousness of their respective claims. The proposed measure would be in the line of securing recognition of the fact that in many strikes the public has itself an interest which can not wisely be disregarded; an interest not merely of general convenience, for the question of a just and proper public policy must also be considered. In all legislation of this kind it is well to advance cautiously, testing each step by the actual results; the step proposed can surely be safely taken, for the decisions of the commission would not bind the parties in legal fashion, and yet would give a chance for public opinion to crystallize and thus to exert its full force for the right.

It is not wise that the Nation should alienate its remaining coal lands. I have temporarily withdrawn from settlement all the lands which the Geological Survey has indicated as containing, or

in all probability containing, coal. The question, however, can be properly settled only by legislation, which in my judgment should provide for the withdrawal of these lands from sale or from entry, save in certain especial circumstances. The ownership would then remain in the United States, which should not, however, attempt to work them, but permit them to be worked by private individuals under a royalty system, the Government keeping such control as to permit it to see that no excessive price was charged consumers. It would, of course, be as necessary to supervise the rates charged by the common carriers to transport the product as the rates charged by those who mine it; and the supervision must extend to the conduct of the common carriers, so that they shall in no way favor one competitor at the expense of another. The withdrawal of these coal lands would constitute a policy analogous to that which has been followed in withdrawing the forest lands from ordinary settlement. The coal, like the forests, should be treated as the property of the public, and its disposal should be under conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole.

The present Congress has taken long strides in the direction of securing proper supervision and control by the National Government over corporations engaged in interstate business—and the enormous majority of corporations of any size are engaged in interstate business. The passage of the

railway rate bill, and only to a less degree the passage of the pure food bill, and the provision for increasing and rendering more effective national control over the beef-packing industry, mark an important advance in the proper direction. In the short session it will perhaps be difficult to do much further along this line; and it may be best to wait until the laws have been in operation for a number of months before endeavoring to increase their scope, because only operation will show with exactness their merits and their shortcomings and thus give opportunity to define what further remedial legislation is needed. Yet in my judgment it will in the end be advisable in connection with the packing house inspection law to provide for putting a date on the label and for charging the cost of inspection to the packers. All these laws have already justified their enactment. The interstate commerce law, for instance, has rather amusingly falsified the predictions, both of those who asserted that it would ruin the railroads and of those who asserted that it did not go far enough and would accomplish nothing. During the last five months the railroads have shown increased earnings and some of them unusual dividends; while during the same period the mere taking effect of the law has produced an unprecedented, a hitherto unheard-of, number of voluntary reductions in freights and fares by the railroads. Since the founding of the Commission there has never been a time of equal length in which anything like so many reduced

tariffs have been put into effect. On August 27, for instance, two days before the new law went into effect, the Commission received notices of over five thousand separate tariffs which represented reductions from previous rates.

It must not be supposed, however, that with the passage of these laws it will be possible to stop progress along the line of increasing the power of the National Government over the use of capital in interstate commerce. For example, there will ultimately be need of enlarging the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission along several different lines, so as to give it a larger and more efficient control over the railroads.

It can not too often be repeated that experience has conclusively shown the impossibility of securing by the actions of nearly half a hundred different State Legislatures anything but ineffective chaos in the way of dealing with the great corporations which do not operate exclusively within the limits of any one State. In some method, whether by a national license law or in other fashion, we must exercise, and that at an early date, a far more complete control than at present over these great corporations—a control that will, among other things, prevent the evils of excessive overcapitalization, and that will compel the disclosure by each big corporation of its stockholders and of its properties and business, whether owned directly or through subsidiary or affiliated corporations. This will tend to put a stop to the securing of inordinate profits by

favored individuals at the expense whether of the general public, the stockholders, or the wage-workers. Our effort should be not so much to prevent consolidation as such, but so to supervise and control it as to see that it results in no harm to the people. The reactionary or ultraconservative apologists for the misuse of wealth assail the effort to secure such control as a step toward socialism. As a matter of fact, it is these reactionaries and ultraconservatives who are themselves most potent in increasing socialistic feeling. One of the most efficient methods of averting the consequences of a dangerous agitation, which is 80 per cent wrong, is to remedy the 20 per cent of evil as to which the agitation is well founded. The best way to avert the very undesirable move for the governmental ownership of railways is to secure by the Government on behalf of the people as a whole such adequate control and regulation of the great interstate common carriers as will do away with the evils which give rise to the agitation against them. So the proper antidote to the dangerous and wicked agitation against the men of wealth as such is to secure by proper legislation and executive action the abolition of the grave abuses which actually do obtain in connection with the business use of wealth under our present system—or rather no system—of failure to exercise any adequate control at all. Some persons speak as if the exercise of such governmental control would do away with the freedom of individual initiative and dwarf individual effort.

This is not a fact. It would be a veritable calamity to fail to put a premium upon individual initiative, individual capacity and effort; upon the energy, character, and foresight which it is so important to encourage in the individual. But as a matter of fact the deadening and degrading effect of pure socialism, and especially of its extreme form communism, and the destruction of individual character which they would bring about, are in part achieved by the wholly unregulated competition which results in a single individual or corporation rising at the expense of all others until his or its rise effectually checks all competition and reduces former competitors to a position of utter inferiority and subordination.

In enacting and enforcing such legislation as this Congress already has to its credit, we are working on a coherent plan, with the steady endeavor to secure the needed reform by the joint action of the moderate men, the plain men who do not wish anything hysterical or dangerous, but who do intend to deal in resolute common-sense fashion with the real and great evils of the present system. The reactionaries and the violent extremists show symptoms of joining hands against us. Both assert, for instance, that if logical, we should go to government ownership of railroads and the like; the reactionaries, because on such an issue they think the people would stand with them, while the extremists care rather to preach discontent and agitation than to achieve solid results. As a matter of fact, our

position is as remote from that of the Bourbon reactionary as from that of the impracticable or sinister visionary. We hold that the Government should not conduct the business of the Nation, but that it should exercise such supervision as will ensure its being conducted in the interest of the Nation. Our aim is, so far as may be, to secure, for all decent, hard-working men, equality of opportunity and equality of burden.

The actual working of our laws has shown that the effort to prohibit all combination, good or bad, is noxious where it is not ineffective. Combination of capital, like combination of labor, is a necessary element of our present industrial system. It is not possible completely to prevent it; and if it were possible, such complete prevention would do damage to the body politic. What we need is not vainly to try to prevent all combination, but to secure such rigorous and adequate control and supervision of the combinations as to prevent their injuring the public, or existing in such form as inevitably to threaten injury—for the mere fact that a combination has secured practically complete control of a necessary of life would under any circumstances show that such combination was to be presumed to be adverse to the public interest. It is unfortunate that our present laws should forbid all combinations, instead of sharply discriminating between those combinations which do good and those combinations which do evil. Rebates, for instance, are as often due to the pressure of big shippers (as was

shown in the investigation of the Standard Oil Company and as has been shown since by the investigation of the tobacco and sugar trusts) as to the initiative of big railroads. Often railroads would like to combine for the purpose of preventing a big shipper from maintaining improper advantages at the expense of small shippers and of the general public. Such a combination, instead of being forbidden by law, should be favored. In other words, it should be permitted to railroads to make agreements, provided these agreements were sanctioned by the Interstate Commerce Commission and were published. With these two conditions complied with it is impossible to see what harm such a combination could do to the public at large. It is a public evil to have on the statute books a law incapable of full enforcement because both judges and juries realize that its full enforcement would destroy the business of the country; for the result is to make decent railroad men violators of the law against their will, and to put a premium on the behavior of the wilful wrong-doers. Such a result in turn tends to throw the decent man and the wilful wrong-doer into close association, and in the end to drag down the former to the latter's level; for the man who becomes a lawbreaker in one way unhappily tends to lose all respect for law and to be willing to break it in many ways. No more scathing condemnation could be visited upon a law than is contained in the words of the Interstate Commerce Commission when, in commenting upon

the fact that the numerous joint traffic associations do technically violate the law, they say: "The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Trans-Missouri case and the Joint Traffic Association case has produced no practical effect upon the railway operations of the country. Such associations, in fact, exist now as they did before these decisions, and with the same general effect. In justice to all parties, we ought probably to add that it is difficult to see how our interstate railways could be operated with due regard to the interest of the shipper and the railway without concerted action of the kind afforded through these associations."

This means that the law as construed by the Supreme Court is such that the business of the country can not be conducted without breaking it. I recommend that you give careful and early consideration to this subject, and if you find the opinion of the Interstate Commerce Commission justified, that you amend the law so as to obviate the evil disclosed.

The question of taxation is difficult in any country, but it is especially difficult in ours with its Federal system of government. Some taxes should on every ground be levied in a small district for use in that district. Thus the taxation of real estate is peculiarly one for the immediate locality in which the real estate is found. Again, there is no more legitimate tax for any State than a tax on the

franchises conferred by that State upon street railroads and similar corporations which operate wholly within the State boundaries, sometimes in one and sometimes in several municipalities or other minor divisions of the State. But there are many kinds of taxes which can only be levied by the General Government so as to produce the best results, because, among other reasons, the attempt to impose them in one particular State too often results merely in driving the corporation or individual affected to some other locality or other State. The National Government has long derived its chief revenue from a tariff on imports and from an internal or excise tax. In addition to these there is every reason why, when next our system of taxation is revised, the National Government should impose a graduated inheritance tax, and, if possible, a graduated income tax. The man of great wealth owes a peculiar obligation to the State, because he derives special advantages from the mere existence of government. Not only should he recognize this obligation in the way he leads his daily life and in the way he earns and spends his money, but it should also be recognized by the way in which he pays for the protection the State gives him. On the one hand, it is desirable that he should assume his full and proper share of the burden of taxation; on the other hand, it is quite as necessary that in this kind of taxation, where the men who vote the tax pay but little of it, there should be clear recognition of the danger of inaugurating any such system save

in a spirit of entire justice and moderation. Whenever we, as a people, undertake to remodel our taxation system along the lines suggested, we must make it clear beyond peradventure that our aim is to distribute the burden of supporting the Government more equitably than at present; that we intend to treat rich man and poor man on a basis of absolute equality, and that we regard it as equally fatal to true democracy to do or permit injustice to the one as to do or permit injustice to the other.

I am well aware that such a subject as this needs long and careful study in order that the people may become familiar with what is proposed to be done, may clearly see the necessity of proceeding with wisdom and self-restraint, and may make up their minds just how far they are willing to go in the matter; while only trained legislators can work out the project in necessary detail. But I feel that in the near future our national legislators should enact a law providing for a graduated inheritance tax by which a steadily increasing rate of duty should be put upon all moneys or other valuables coming by gift, bequest, or devise to any individual or corporation. It may be well to make the tax heavy in proportion as the individual benefited is remote of kin. In any event, in my judgment the pro rata of the tax should increase very heavily with the increase of the amount left to any one individual after a certain point has been reached. It is most desirable to encourage thrift and ambition, and a potent source of thrift and ambition is the desire

on the part of the breadwinner to leave his children well off. This object can be attained by making the tax very small on moderate amounts of property left; because the prime object should be to put a constantly increasing burden on the inheritance of those swollen fortunes which it is certainly of no benefit to this country to perpetuate.

There can be no question of the ethical propriety of the Government thus determining the conditions upon which any gift or inheritance should be received. Exactly how far the inheritance tax would, as an incident, have the effect of limiting the transmission by devise or gift of the enormous fortunes in question it is not necessary at present to discuss. It is wise that progress in this direction should be gradual. At first a permanent national inheritance tax, while it might be more substantial than any such tax has hitherto been, need not approximate, either in amount or in the extent of the increase by graduation, to what such a tax should ultimately be.

This species of tax has again and again been imposed, although only temporarily, by the National Government. It was first imposed by the act of July 6, 1797, when the makers of the Constitution were alive and at the head of affairs. It was a graduated tax; though small in amount, the rate was increased with the amount left to any individual, exceptions being made in the case of certain close kin. A similar tax was again imposed by the act of July 1, 1862; a minimum sum of one thou-

sand dollars in personal property being excepted from taxation, the tax then becoming progressive according to the remoteness of kin. The war-revenue act of June 13, 1898, provided for an inheritance tax on any sum exceeding the value of ten thousand dollars, the rate of the tax increasing both in accordance with the amounts left and in accordance with the legatee's remoteness of kin. The Supreme Court has held that the succession tax imposed at the time of the Civil War was not a direct tax but an impost or excise which was both constitutional and valid. More recently the Court, in an opinion delivered by Mr. Justice White, which contained an exceedingly able and elaborate discussion of the powers of the Congress to impose death duties, sustained the constitutionality of the inheritance-tax feature of the war-revenue act of 1898.

In its incidents, and apart from the main purpose of raising revenue, an income tax stands on an entirely different footing from an inheritance tax; because it involves no question of the perpetuation of fortunes swollen to an unhealthy size. The question is in its essence a question of the proper adjustment of burdens to benefits. As the law now stands it is undoubtedly difficult to devise a national income tax which shall be constitutional. But whether it is absolutely impossible is another question; and if possible it is most certainly desirable. The first purely income tax law was passed by the Congress in 1861, but the most important law dealing with the

subject was that of 1894. This the court held to be unconstitutional.

The question is undoubtedly very intricate, delicate, and troublesome. The decision of the court was only reached by one majority. It is the law of the land, and of course is accepted as such and loyally obeyed by all good citizens. Nevertheless, the hesitation evidently felt by the court as a whole in coming to a conclusion, when considered together with the previous decisions on the subject, may perhaps indicate the possibility of devising a constitutional income-tax law which shall substantially accomplish the results aimed at. The difficulty of amending the Constitution is so great that only real necessity can justify a resort thereto. Every effort should be made in dealing with this subject, as with the subject of the proper control by the National Government over the use of corporate wealth in interstate business, to devise legislation which without such action shall attain the desired end; but if this fails, there will ultimately be no alternative to a constitutional amendment.

It would be impossible to overstate (though it is of course difficult quantitatively to measure) the effect upon a nation's growth to greatness of what may be called organized patriotism, which necessarily includes the substitution of a national feeling for mere local pride; with as a resultant a high ambition for the whole country. No country can develop its full strength so long as the parts which

make up the whole each put a feeling of loyalty to the part above the feeling of loyalty to the whole. This is true of sections and it is just as true of classes. The industrial and agricultural classes must work together, capitalists and wage-workers must work together, if the best work of which the country is capable is to be done. It is probable that a thoroughly efficient system of education comes next to the influence of patriotism in bringing about national success of this kind. Our federal form of government, so fruitful of advantage to our people in certain ways, in other ways undoubtedly limits our national effectiveness. It is not possible, for instance, for the National Government to take the lead in technical industrial education, to see that the public-school system of this country develops on all its technical, industrial, scientific, and commercial sides. This must be left primarily to the several States. Nevertheless, the National Government has control of the schools of the District of Columbia, and it should see that these schools promote and encourage the fullest development of the scholars in both commercial and industrial training. The commercial training should in one of its branches deal with foreign trade. The industrial training is even more important. It should be one of our prime objects as a Nation, so far as feasible, constantly to work toward putting the mechanic, the wage-worker who works with his hands, on a higher plane of efficiency and reward, so as to increase his effectiveness in the economic

world, and the dignity, the remuneration, and the power of his position in the social world. Unfortunately, at present the effect of some of the work in the public schools is in the exactly opposite direction. If boys and girls are trained merely in literary accomplishments, to the total exclusion of industrial, manual, and technical training, the tendency is to unfit them for industrial work and to make them reluctant to go into it, or unfitted to do well if they do go into it. This is a tendency which should be strenuously combated. Our industrial development depends largely upon technical education, including in this term all industrial education, from that which fits a man to be a good mechanic, a good carpenter, or blacksmith, to that which fits a man to do the greatest engineering feat. The skilled mechanic, the skilled workman, can best become such by technical industrial education. The far-reaching usefulness of institutes of technology and schools of mines or of engineering, is now universally acknowledged, and no less far-reaching is the effect of a good building or mechanical trades school, a textile, or watchmaking, or engraving school. All such training must develop not only manual dexterity but industrial intelligence. In international rivalry this country does not have to fear the competition of pauper labor as much as it has to fear the educated labor of specially trained competitors; and we should have the education of the hand, eye, and brain which will fit us to meet such competition.

In every possible way we should help the wage-worker who toils with his hands and who must (we hope in a constantly increasing measure) also toil with his brain. Under the Constitution the National Legislature can do but little of direct importance for his welfare save where he is engaged in work which permits it to act under the interstate commerce clause of the Constitution; and this is one reason why I so earnestly hope that both the legislative and judicial branches of the Government will construe this clause of the Constitution in the broadest possible manner. We can, however, in such a matter as industrial training, in such a matter as child labor and factory laws, set an example to the States by enacting the most advanced legislation that can wisely be enacted for the District of Columbia.

The only other persons whose welfare is as vital to the welfare of the whole country as is the welfare of the wage-workers are the tillers of the soil, the farmers. It is a mere truism to say that no growth of great cities, no growth of wealth, no industrial development can atone for any falling off in the character and standing of the farming population. During the last few decades this fact has been recognized with ever-increasing clearness. There is no longer any failure to realize that farming, at least in certain branches, must become a technical and scientific profession. This means that there must be open to farmers the chance for

technical and scientific training, not theoretical merely but of the most severely practical type. The farmer represents a peculiarly high type of American citizenship, and he must have the same chance to rise and develop as other American citizens have. Moreover, it is exactly as true of the farmer, as it is of the business man and the wage-worker, that the ultimate success of the Nation of which he forms a part must be founded not alone on material prosperity but upon high moral, mental, and physical development. This education of the farmer—self-education by preference, but also education from the outside, as with all other men—is peculiarly necessary here in the United States, where the frontier conditions even in the newest States have now nearly vanished, where there must be a substitution of a more intensive system of cultivation for the old wasteful farm management, and where there must be better business organization among the farmers themselves.

Several factors must cooperate in the improvement of the farmer's condition. He must have the chance to be educated in the widest possible sense—in the sense which keeps ever in view the intimate relationship between the theory of education and the facts of life. In all education we should widen our aims. It is a good thing to produce a certain number of trained scholars and students; but the education superintended by the State must seek rather to produce a hundred good citi-

zens than merely one scholar, and it must be turned now and then from the class book to the study of the great book of nature itself. This is especially true of the farmer, as has been pointed out again and again by all observers most competent to pass practical judgment on the problems of our country life. All students now realize that education must seek to train the executive powers of young people and to confer more real significance upon the phrase "dignity of labor," and to prepare the pupils so that in addition to each developing in the highest degree his individual capacity for work, they may together help create a right public opinion, and show in many ways social and co-operative spirit. Organization has become necessary in the business world; and it has accomplished much for good in the world of labor. It is no less necessary for farmers. Such a movement as the grange movement is good in itself and is capable of a wellnigh infinite further extension for good so long as it is kept to its own legitimate business. The benefits to be derived by the association of farmers for mutual advantage are partly economic and partly sociological.

Moreover, while in the long run voluntary effort will prove more efficacious than government assistance, while the farmers must primarily do most for themselves, yet the Government can also do much. The Department of Agriculture has broken new ground in many directions, and year by year it finds how it can improve its methods and develop

fresh usefulness. Its constant effort is to give the governmental assistance in the most effective way; that is, through associations of farmers rather than to or through individual farmers. It is also striving to co-ordinate its work with the agricultural departments of the several States, and so far as its own work is educational, to co-ordinate it with the work of other educational authorities. Agricultural education is necessarily based upon general education, but our agricultural educational institutions are wisely specializing themselves, making their courses relate to the actual teaching of the agricultural and kindred sciences to young country people or young city people who wish to live in the country.

Great progress has already been made among farmers by the creation of farmers' institutes, of dairy associations, of breeders' associations, horticultural associations, and the like. A striking example of how the Government and the farmers can co-operate is shown in connection with the menace offered to the cotton growers of the Southern States by the advance of the boll weevil. The Department is doing all it can to organize the farmers in the threatened districts, just as it has been doing all it can to organize them in aid of its work to eradicate the cattle fever tick in the South. The Department can and will co-operate with all such associations, and it must have their help if its own work is to be done in the most efficient style.

Much is now being done for the States of the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains through the development of the national policy of irrigation and forest preservation; no Government policy for the betterment of our internal conditions has been more fruitful of good than this. The forests of the White Mountains and Southern Appalachian regions should also be preserved; and they can not be unless the people of the States in which they lie, through their representatives in the Congress, secure vigorous action by the National Government.

I invite the attention of the Congress to the estimate of the Secretary of War for an appropriation to enable him to begin the preliminary work for the construction of a memorial amphitheatre at Arlington. The Grand Army of the Republic in its national encampment has urged the erection of such an amphitheatre as necessary for the proper observance of Memorial Day and as a fitting monument to the soldier and sailor dead buried there. In this I heartily concur and commend the matter to the favorable consideration of the Congress.

I am well aware of how difficult it is to pass a constitutional amendment. Nevertheless in my judgment the whole question of marriage and divorce should be relegated to the authority of the National Congress. At present the wide differences in the laws of the different States on this subject result in scandals and abuses; and surely there is

nothing so vitally essential to the welfare of the Nation, nothing around which the Nation should so bend itself to throw every safeguard, as the home life of the average citizen. The change would be good from every standpoint. In particular it would be good because it would confer on the Congress the power at once to deal radically and efficiently with polygamy; and this should be done whether or not marriage and divorce are dealt with. It is neither safe nor proper to leave the question of polygamy to be dealt with by the several States. Power to deal with it should be conferred on the National Government.

When home ties are loosened; when men and women cease to regard a worthy family life, with all its duties fully performed, and all its responsibilities lived up to, as the life best worth living; then evil days for the commonwealth are at hand. There are regions in our land, and classes of our population, where the birth rate has sunk below the death rate. Surely it should need no demonstration to show that wilful sterility is, from the standpoint of the Nation, from the standpoint of the human race, the one sin for which the penalty is National death, race death; a sin for which there is no atonement; a sin which is the more dreadful exactly in proportion as the men and women guilty thereof are in other respects, in character, and bodily and mental powers, those whom for the sake of the State it would be well to see the fathers and mothers of many healthy children, well brought up in homes

made happy by their presence. No man, no woman, can shirk the primary duties of life, whether for love of ease and pleasure, or for any other cause, and retain his or her self-respect.

Let me once again call the attention of the Congress to two subjects concerning which I have frequently before communicated with them. One is the question of developing American shipping. I trust that a law embodying in substance the views, or a major part of the views, expressed in the report on this subject laid before the House at its last session will be passed. I am well aware that in former years objectionable measures have been proposed in reference to the encouragement of American shipping; but it seems to me that the proposed measure is as nearly unobjectionable as any can be. It will, of course, benefit primarily our seaboard States, such as Maine, Louisiana, and Washington; but what benefits part of our people in the end benefits all; just as Government aid to irrigation and forestry in the West is really of benefit not only to the Rocky Mountain States, but to all our country. If it prove impracticable to enact a law for the encouragement of shipping generally, then at least provision should be made for better communication with South America, notably for fast mail lines to the chief South American ports. It is discreditable to us that our business people, for lack of direct communication in the shape of lines of steamers with South America, should in

that great sister continent be at a disadvantage compared to the business people of Europe.

I especially call your attention to the second subject, the condition of our currency laws. The national bank act has ably served a great purpose in aiding the enormous business development of the country; and within ten years there has been an increase in circulation per capita from $21.41 to $33.08. For several years evidence has been accumulating that additional legislation is needed. The recurrence of each crop season emphasizes the defects of the present laws. There must soon be a revision of them, because to leave them as they are means to incur liability of business disaster. Since your body adjourned there has been a fluctuation in the interest on call money from 2 per cent to 30 per cent; and the fluctuation was even greater during the preceding six months. The Secretary of the Treasury had to step in and by wise action put a stop to the most violent period of oscillation. Even worse than such fluctuation is the advance in commercial rates and the uncertainty felt in the sufficiency of credit even at high rates. All commercial interests suffer during each crop period. Excessive rates for call money in New York attract money from the interior banks into the speculative field; this depletes the fund that would otherwise be available for commercial uses, and commercial borrowers are forced to pay abnormal rates; so that each fall a tax, in the shape of increased in-

terest charges, is placed on the whole commerce of the country.

The mere statement of these facts shows that our present system is seriously defective. There is need of a change. Unfortunately, however, many of the proposed changes must be ruled from consideration because they are complicated, are not easy of comprehension, and tend to disturb existing rights and interests. We must also rule out any plan which would materially impair the value of the United States 2 per cent bonds now pledged to secure circulation, the issue of which was made under conditions peculiarly creditable to the Treasury. I do not press any especial plan. Various plans have recently been proposed by expert committees of bankers. Among the plans which are possibly feasible and which certainly should receive your consideration is that repeatedly brought to your attention by the present Secretary of the Treasury, the essential features of which have been approved by many prominent bankers and business men. According to this plan national banks should be permitted to issue a specified proportion of their capital in notes of a given kind, the issue to be taxed at so high a rate as to drive the notes back when not wanted in legitimate trade. This plan would not permit the issue of currency to give banks additional profits, but to meet the emergency presented by times of stringency.

I do not say that this is the right system. I only advance it to emphasize my belief that there

is need for the adoption of some system which shall be automatic and open to all sound banks, so as to avoid all possibility of discrimination and favoritism. Such a plan would tend to prevent the spasms of high money and speculation which now obtain in the New York market; for at present there is too much currency at certain seasons of the year, and its accumulation at New York tempts bankers to lend it at low rates for speculative purposes; whereas at other times when the crops are being moved there is urgent need for a large but temporary increase in the currency supply. It must never be forgotten that this question concerns business men generally quite as much as bankers; especially is this true of stockmen, farmers, and business men in the West; for at present at certain seasons of the year the difference in interest rates between the East and the West is from 6 to 10 per cent, whereas in Canada the corresponding difference is but 2 per cent. Any plan must, of course, guard the interests of Western and Southern bankers as carefully as it guards the interests of New York or Chicago bankers; and must be drawn from the standpoints of the farmer and the merchant no less than from the standpoints of the city banker and the country banker.

The law should be amended so as specifically to provide that the funds derived from customs duties may be treated by the Secretary of the Treasury as he treats funds obtained under the internal-revenue laws. There should be a considerable in-

crease in bills of small denominations. Permission should be given banks, if necessary under settled restrictions, to retire their circulation to a larger amount than three millions a month.

I most earnestly hope that the bill to provide a lower tariff for or else absolute free trade in Philippine products will become a law. No harm will come to any American industry; and while there will be some small but real material benefit to the Filipinos, the main benefit will come by the showing made as to our purpose to do all in our power for their welfare. So far our action in the Philippines has been abundantly justified, not mainly and indeed not primarily because of the added dignity it has given us as a Nation by proving that we are capable honorably and efficiently to bear the international burdens which a mighty people should bear, but even more because of the immense benefit that has come to the people of the Philippine Islands. In these islands we are steadily introducing both liberty and order, to a greater degree than their people have ever before known. We have secured justice. We have provided an efficient police force, and have put down ladronism. Only in the islands of Leyte and Samar is the authority of our Government resisted and this by wild mountain tribes under the superstitious inspiration of fakirs and pseudo-religious leaders. We are constantly increasing the measure of liberty accorded the islanders, and next spring if conditions warrant,

we shall take a great stride forward in testing their capacity for self-government by summoning the first Filipino legislative assembly; and the way in which they stand this test will largely determine whether the self-government thus granted will be increased or decreased; for if we have erred at all in the Philippines it has been in proceeding too rapidly in the direction of granting a large measure of self-government. We are building roads. We have, for the immeasurable good of the people, arranged for the building of railroads. Let us also see to it that they are given free access to our markets. This Nation owes no more imperative duty to itself and mankind than the duty of managing the affairs of all the islands under the American flag—the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii—so as to make it evident that it is in every way to their advantage that the flag should fly over them.

American citizenship should be conferred on the citizens of Porto Rico. The harbor of San Juan in Porto Rico should be dredged and improved. The expenses of the Federal Court of Porto Rico should be met from the Federal Treasury. The administration of the affairs of Porto Rico, together with those of the Philippines, Hawaii, and our other insular possessions, should all be directed under one executive department; by preference the Department of State or the Department of War.

The needs of Hawaii are peculiar; every aid should be given the islands; and our efforts should

be unceasing to develop them along the lines of a community of small freeholders, not of great planters with coolie-tilled estates. Situated as this Territory is, in the middle of the Pacific, there are duties imposed upon this small community which do not fall in like degree or manner upon any other American community. This warrants our treating it differently from the way in which we treat Territories contiguous to or surrounded by sister Territories or other States, and justifies the setting aside of a portion of our revenues to be expended for educational and internal improvements therein. Hawaii is now making an effort to secure immigration fit in the end to assume the duties and burdens of full American citizenship, and whenever the leaders in the various industries of those islands finally adopt our ideals and heartily join our administration in endeavoring to develop a middle class of substantial citizens, a way will then be found to deal with the commercial and industrial problems which now appear to them so serious. The best Americanism is that which aims for stability and permanency of prosperous citizenship, rather than immediate returns on large masses of capital.

Alaska's needs have been partially met, but there must be a complete reorganization of the governmental system, as I have before indicated to you. I ask your especial attention to this. Our fellow-citizens who dwell on the shores of Puget Sound

with characteristic energy are arranging to hold in Seattle the Alaska Yukon Pacific Exposition. Its special aims include the upbuilding of Alaska and the development of American commerce on the Pacific Ocean. This exposition, in its purposes and scope, should appeal not only to the people of the Pacific Slope, but to the people of the United States at large. Alaska since it was bought has yielded to the Government eleven millions of dollars of revenue, and has produced nearly three hundred millions of dollars in gold, furs, and fish. When properly developed it will become in large degree a land of homes. The countries bordering the Pacific Ocean have a population more numerous than that of all the countries of Europe; their annual foreign commerce amounts to over three billions of dollars, of which the share of the United States is some seven hundred millions of dollars. If this trade were thoroughly understood and pushed by our manufacturers and producers, the industries not only of the Pacific Slope, but of all our country, and particularly of our cotton-growing States, would be greatly benefited. Of course, in order to get these benefits, we must treat fairly the countries with which we trade.

It is a mistake, and it betrays a spirit of foolish cynicism, to maintain that all international governmental action is, and must ever be, based upon mere selfishness, and that to advance ethical reasons for such action is always a sign of hypocrisy. This is

no more necessarily true of the action of governments than of the action of individuals. It is a sure sign of a base nature always to ascribe base motives for the actions of others. Unquestionably no nation can afford to disregard proper considerations of self-interest, any more than a private individual can so do. But it is equally true that the average private individual in any really decent community does many actions with reference to other men in which he is guided, not by self-interest, but by public spirit, by regard for the rights of others, by a disinterested purpose to do good to others, and to raise the tone of the community as a whole. Similarly, a really great nation must often act, and as a matter of fact often does act, toward other nations in a spirit not in the least of mere self-interest, but paying heed chiefly to ethical reasons; and as the centuries go by this disinterestedness in international action, this tendency of the individuals comprising a nation to require that nation to act with justice toward its neighbors, steadily grows and strengthens. It is neither wise nor right for a nation to disregard its own needs, and it is foolish —and may be wicked—to think that other nations will disregard theirs. But it is wicked for a nation only to regard its own interest, and foolish to believe that such is the sole motive that actuates any other nation. It should be our steady aim to raise the ethical standard of national action just as we strive to raise the ethical standard of individual action.

Not only must we treat all nations fairly, but we must treat with justice and good-will all immigrants who come here under the law. Whether they are Catholic or Protestant, Jew or Gentile; whether they come from England or Germany, Russia, Japan, or Italy, matters nothing. All we have a right to question is the man's conduct. If he is honest and upright in his dealings with his neighbor and with the State, then he is entitled to respect and good treatment. Especially do we need to remember our duty to the stranger within our gates. It is the sure mark of a low civilization, a low morality, to abuse or discriminate against or in any way humiliate such stranger who has come here lawfully and who is conducting himself properly. To remember this is incumbent on every American citizen, and it is of course peculiarly incumbent on every Government official, whether of the Nation or of the several States.

I am prompted to say this by the attitude of hostility here and there assumed toward the Japanese in this country. This hostility is sporadic and is limited to a very few places. Nevertheless, it is most discreditable to us as a people, and it may be fraught with the gravest consequences to the Nation. The friendship between the United States and Japan has been continuous since the time, over half a century ago, when Commodore Perry, by his expedition to Japan, first opened the islands to western civilization. Since then the growth of Japan has been literally astounding. There is not

only nothing to parallel it, but nothing to approach it in the history of civilized mankind. Japan has a glorious and ancient past. Her civilization is older than that of the nations of northern Europe —the nations from whom the people of the United States have chiefly sprung. But fifty years ago Japan's development was still that of the Middle Ages. During that fifty years the progress of the country in every walk in life has been a marvel to mankind, and she now stands as one of the greatest of civilized nations; great in the arts of war and in the arts of peace; great in military, in industrial, in artistic development and achievement. Japanese soldiers and sailors have shown themselves equal in combat to any of whom history makes note. She has produced great generals and mighty admirals; her fighting men, afloat and ashore, show all the heroic courage, the unquestioning, unfaltering loyalty, the splendid indifference to hardship and death, which marked the Loyal Ronins; and they show also that they possess the highest ideal of patriotism. Japanese artists of every kind see their products eagerly sought for in all lands. The industrial and commercial development of Japan has been phenomenal; greater than that of any other country during the same period. At the same time the advance in science and philosophy is no less marked. The admirable management of the Japanese Red Cross during the late war, the efficiency and humanity of the Japanese officials, nurses, and doctors, won the respectful admiration of all acquainted

with the facts. Through the Red Cross the Japanese people sent over $100,000 to the sufferers of San Francisco, and the gift was accepted with gratitude by our people. The courtesy of the Japanese, nationally and individually, has become proverbial. To no other country has there been such an increasing number of visitors from this land as to Japan. In return, Japanese have come here in great numbers. They are welcome, socially and intellectually, in all our colleges and institutions of higher learning, in all our professional and social bodies. The Japanese have won in a single generation the right to stand abreast of the foremost and most enlightened peoples of Europe and America; they have won on their own merits and by their own exertions the right to treatment on a basis of full and frank equality. The overwhelming mass of our people cherish a lively regard and respect for the people of Japan, and in almost every quarter of the Union the stranger from Japan is treated as he deserves; that is, he is treated as the stranger from any part of civilized Europe is and deserves to be treated. But here and there a most unworthy feeling has manifested itself toward the Japanese—the feeling that has been shown in shutting them out from the common schools in San Francisco, and in mutterings against them in one or two other places, because of their efficiency as workers. To shut them out from the public schools is a wicked absurdity, when there are no first-class colleges in the land, including the universities and colleges of Cali-

fornia, which do not gladly welcome Japanese students and on which Japanese students do not reflect credit. We have as much to learn from Japan as Japan has to learn from us; and no nation is fit to teach unless it is also willing to learn. Throughout Japan Americans are well treated, and any failure on the part of Americans at home to treat the Japanese with a like courtesy and consideration is by just so much a confession of inferiority in our civilization.

Our Nation fronts on the Pacific, just as it fronts on the Atlantic. We hope to play a constantly growing part in the great ocean of the Orient. We wish, as we ought to wish, for a great commercial development in our dealings with Asia; and it is out of the question that we should permanently have such development unless we freely and gladly extend to other nations the same measure of justice and good treatment which we expect to receive in return. It is only a very small body of our citizens that act badly. Where the Federal Government has power it will deal summarily with any such. Where the several States have power I earnestly ask that they also deal wisely and promptly with such conduct, or else this small body of wrong-doers may bring shame upon the great mass of their innocent and right-thinking fellows—that is, upon our Nation as a whole. Good manners should be an international no less than an individual attribute. I ask fair treatment for the Japanese as I would ask fair treatment for Germans or Englishmen, Frenchmen,

Russians, or Italians. I ask it as due to humanity and civilization. I ask it as due to ourselves because we must act uprightly toward all men.

I recommend to the Congress that an act be passed specifically providing for the naturalization of Japanese who come here intending to become American citizens. One of the great embarrassments attending the performance of our international obligations is the fact that the Statutes of the United States are entirely inadequate. They fail to give to the National Government sufficiently ample power, through United States courts and by the use of the Army and Navy, to protect aliens in the rights secured to them under solemn treaties which are the law of the land. I therefore earnestly recommend that the criminal and civil statutes of the United States be so amended and added to as to enable the President, acting for the United States Government, which is responsible in our international relations, to enforce the rights of aliens under treaties. Even as the law now is something can be done by the Federal Government toward this end, and in the matter now before me affecting the Japanese, everything that it is in my power to do will be done, and all of the forces, military and civil, of the United States which I may lawfully employ will be so employed. There should, however, be no particle of doubt as to the power of the National Government completely to perform and enforce its own obligations to other nations. The mob of a single city may at any time perform

acts of lawless violence against some class of foreigners which would plunge us into war. That city by itself would be powerless to make defence against the foreign power thus assaulted, and if independent of this Government it would never venture to perform or permit the performance of the acts complained of. The entire power and the whole duty to protect the offending city or the offending community lies in the hands of the United States Government. It is unthinkable that we should continue a policy under which a given locality may be allowed to commit a crime against a friendly nation, and the United States Government limited, not to preventing the commission of the crime, but, in the last resort, to defending the people who have committed it against the consequences of their own wrong-doing.

Last August an insurrection broke out in Cuba which it speedily grew evident that the existing Cuban Government was powerless to quell. This Government was repeatedly asked by the then Cuban Government to intervene, and finally was notified by the President of Cuba that he intended to resign; that his decision was irrevocable; that none of the other constitutional officers would consent to carry on the Government, and that he was powerless to maintain order. It was evident that chaos was impending, and there was every probability that if steps were not immediately taken by this Government to try to restore order, the represen-

tatives of various European nations in the island would apply to their respective governments for armed intervention in order to protect the lives and property of their citizens. Thanks to the preparedness of our Navy, I was able immediately to send enough ships to Cuba to prevent the situation from becoming hopeless; and I furthermore despatched to Cuba the Secretary of War and the Assistant Secretary of State, in order that they might grapple with the situation on the ground. All efforts to secure an agreement between the contending factions, by which they should themselves come to an amicable understanding and settle upon some modus vivendi—some provisional government of their own—failed. Finally the President of the Republic resigned. The quorum of Congress assembled failed by deliberate purpose of its members, so that there was no power to act on his resignation, and the Government came to a halt. In accordance with the so-called Platt amendment, which was embodied in the constitution of Cuba, I thereupon proclaimed a provisional government for the island, the Secretary of War acting as provisional governor until he could be replaced by Mr. Magoon, the late minister to Panama and governor of the Canal Zone on the Isthmus; troops were sent to support them and to relieve the Navy, the expedition being handled with most satisfactory speed and efficiency. The insurgent chiefs immediately agreed that their troops should lay down their arms and disband; and the agreement was carried out. The provi-

sional government has left the personnel of the old government and the old laws, so far as might be, unchanged, and will thus administer the island for a few months until tranquillity can be restored, a new election properly held, and a new government inaugurated. Peace has come in the island; and the harvesting of the sugar-cane crop, the great crop of the island, is about to proceed.

When the election has been held and the new government inaugurated in peaceful and orderly fashion the provisional government will come to an end. I take this opportunity of expressing upon behalf of the American people, with all possible solemnity, our most earnest hope that the people of Cuba will realize the imperative need of preserving justice and keeping order in the island. The United States wishes nothing of Cuba except that it shall prosper morally and materially, and wishes nothing of the Cubans save that they shall be able to preserve order among themselves and therefore to preserve their independence. If the elections become a farce, and if the insurrectionary habit becomes confirmed in the island, it is absolutely out of the question that the island should continue independent; and the United States, which has assumed the sponsorship before the civilized world for Cuba's career as a nation, would again have to intervene and to see that the government was managed in such orderly fashion as to secure the safety of life and property. The path to be trodden by those who exercise self-government is always hard, and we

should have every charity and patience with the Cubans as they tread this difficult path. I have the utmost sympathy with, and regard for, them; but I most earnestly adjure them solemnly to weigh their responsibilities and to see that when their new government is started it shall run smoothly, and with freedom from flagrant denial of right on the one hand, and from insurrectionary disturbances on the other.

The Second International Conference of American Republics, held in Mexico in the years 1901-2, provided for the holding of the third conference within five years, and committed the fixing of the time and place and the arrangements for the conference to the governing board of the Bureau of American Republics, composed of the representatives of all the American nations in Washington. That board discharged the duty imposed upon it with marked fidelity and painstaking care, and upon the courteous invitation of the United States of Brazil the conference was held at Rio de Janeiro, continuing from the 23d of July to the 29th of August last. Many subjects of common interest to all the American nations were discussed by the conference, and the conclusions reached, embodied in a series of resolutions and proposed conventions, will be laid before you upon the coming in of the final report of the American delegates. They contain many matters of importance relating to the extension of trade, the increase of communication, the smoothing away of

barriers to free intercourse, and the promotion of a better knowledge and good understanding between the different countries represented. The meetings of the conference were harmonious and the conclusions were reached with substantial unanimity. It is interesting to observe that in the successive conferences which have been held the representatives of the different American nations have been learning to work together effectively, for, while the First Conference in Washington in 1889, and the Second Conference in Mexico in 1901-2, occupied many months, with much time wasted in an unregulated and fruitless discussion, the Third Conference at Rio exhibited much of the facility in the practical despatch of business which characterizes permanent deliberative bodies, and completed its labors within the period of six weeks originally allotted for its sessions.

Quite apart from the specific value of the conclusions reached by the conference, the example of the representatives of all the American nations engaging in harmonious and kindly consideration and discussion of subjects of common interest is itself of great and substantial value for the promotion of reasonable and considerate treatment of all international questions. The thanks of this country are due to the Government of Brazil and to the people of Rio de Janeiro for the generous hospitality with which our delegates, in common with the others, were received, entertained, and facilitated in their work.

Incidentally to the meeting of the conference, the Secretary of State visited the city of Rio de Janeiro and was cordially received by the conference, of which he was made an honorary president. The announcement of his intention to make this visit was followed by most courteous and urgent invitations from nearly all the countries of South America to visit them as the guest of their Governments. It was deemed that by the acceptance of these invitations we might appropriately express the real respect and friendship in which we hold our sister Republics of the southern continent, and the Secretary, accordingly, visited Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Panama, and Colombia. He refrained from visiting Paraguay, Bolivia, and Ecuador only because the distance of their capitals from the seaboard made it impracticable with the time at his disposal. He carried with him a message of peace and friendship, and of strong desire for good understanding and mutual helpfulness; and he was everywhere received in the spirit of his message. The members of government, the press, the learned professions, the man of business, and the great masses of the people united everywhere in emphatic response to his friendly expressions and in doing honor to the country and cause which he represented.

In many parts of South America there has been much misunderstanding of the attitude and purposes of the United States toward the other American Republics. An idea had become prevalent that

our assertion of the Monroe Doctrine implied, or carried with it, an assumption of superiority, and of a right to exercise some kind of protectorate over the countries to whose territory that doctrine applies. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Yet that impression continued to be a serious barrier to good understanding, to friendly intercourse, to the introduction of American capital and the extension of American trade. The impression was so widespread that apparently it could not be reached by any ordinary means.

It was part of Secretary Root's mission to dispel this unfounded impression, and there is just cause to believe that he has succeeded. In an address to the Third Conference at Rio on the 31st of July—an address of such note that I send it in, together with this message—he said:

"We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief guaranty of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights or privileges or powers that we do not freely concede to every American Republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to extend our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom, and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not

to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together. Within a few months for the first time the recognized possessors of every foot of soil upon the American continents can be and I hope will be represented with the acknowledged rights of equal sovereign states in the great World Congress at The Hague. This will be the world's formal and final acceptance of the declaration that no part of the American continents is to be deemed subject to colonization. Let us pledge ourselves to aid each other in the full performance of the duty to humanity which that accepted declaration implies, so that in time the weakest and most unfortunate of our Republics may come to march with equal step by the side of the stronger and more fortunate. Let us help each other to show that for all the races of men the liberty for which we have fought and labored is the twin sister of justice and peace. Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion, whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe, and bring us ever nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty. So shall come security and prosperity, production and trade, wealth, learning, the arts, and happiness for us all."

These words appear to have been received with

acclaim in every part of South America. They have my hearty approval, as I am sure they will have yours, and I can not be wrong in the conviction that they correctly represent the sentiments of the whole American people. I can not better characterize the true attitude of the United States in its assertion of the Monroe Doctrine than in the words of the distinguished former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Argentina, Doctor Drago, in his speech welcoming Mr. Root at Buenos Ayres. He spoke of—

"The traditional policy of the United States (which) without accentuating superiority or seeking preponderance, condemned the oppression of the nations of this part of the world and the control of their destinies by the great Powers of Europe."

It is gratifying to know that in the great city of Buenos Ayres, upon the arches which spanned the streets, entwined with Argentine and American flags for the reception of our representative, there were emblazoned not only the names of Washington and Jefferson and Marshall, but also, in appreciative recognition of their services to the cause of South American independence, the names of James Monroe, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Richard Rush. We take especial pleasure in the graceful courtesy of the Government of Brazil, which has given to the beautiful and stately building first used for the meeting of the conference the name of "Palacio Monroe." Our grateful acknowledgments are due to the Governments and the peo-

ple of all the countries visited by the Secretary of State for the courtesy, the friendship, and the honor shown to our country in their generous hospitality to him.

In my message to you on the 5th of December, 1905, I called your attention to the embarrassment that might be caused to this Government by the assertion by foreign nations of the right to collect by force of arms contract debts due by American republics to citizens of the collecting nation, and to the danger that the process of compulsory collection might result in the occupation of territory tending to become permanent. I then said:

"Our own Government has always refused to enforce such contractual obligations on behalf of its citizens by an appeal to arms. It is much to be wished that all foreign governments would take the same view."

This subject was one of the topics of consideration at the conference at Rio and a resolution was adopted by that conference recommending to the respective governments represented "to consider the advisability of asking the Second Peace Conference at The Hague to examine the question of the compulsory collection of public debts, and in general, means tending to diminish among nations conflicts of purely pecuniary origin."

This resolution was supported by the representatives of the United States in accordance with the following instructions:

"It has long been the established policy of the

United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other governments. We have not considered the use of force for such a purpose consistent with that respect for the independent sovereignty of other members of the family of nations, which is the most important principle of international law and the chief protection of weak nations against the oppression of the strong. It seems to us that the practice is injurious in its general effect upon the relations of nations and upon the welfare of weak and disordered states, whose development ought to be encouraged in the interests of civilization; that it offers frequent temptation to bullying and oppression and to unnecessary and unjustifiable warfare. We regret that other powers, whose opinions and sense of justice we esteem highly, have at times taken a different view and have permitted themselves, though we believe with reluctance, to collect such debts by force. It is doubtless true that the non-payment of public debts may be accompanied by such circumstances of fraud and wrong-doing or violation of treaties as to justify the use of force. This Government would be glad to see an international consideration of the subject which shall discriminate between such cases and the simple non-performance of a contract with a private person, and a resolution in favor of reliance upon peaceful means in cases of the latter class.

"It is not felt, however, that the conference at Rio should undertake to make such a discrimination

or to resolve upon such a rule. Most of the American countries are still debtor nations, while the countries of Europe are the creditors. If the Rio conference, therefore, were to take such action it would have the appearance of a meeting of debtors resolving how their creditors should act, and this would not inspire respect. The true course is indicated by the terms of the program, which proposes to request the Second Hague Conference, where both creditors and debtors will be assembled, to consider the subject."

Last June trouble which had existed for some time between the Republics of Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras culminated in war—a war which threatened to be ruinous to the countries involved and very destructive to the commercial interests of Americans, Mexicans, and other foreigners who are taking an important part in the development of these countries. The thoroughly good understanding which exists between the United States and Mexico enabled this Government and that of Mexico to unite in effective mediation between the warring Republics; which mediation resulted, not without long-continued and patient effort, in bringing about a meeting of the representatives of the hostile powers on board a United States warship as neutral territory, and peace was there concluded; a peace which resulted in the saving of thousands of lives and in the prevention of an incalculable amount of misery and the destruction of property

and of the means of livelihood. The Rio Conference passed the following resolution in reference to this action:

"That the Third International American Conference shall address to the Presidents of the United States of America and of the United States of Mexico a note in which the conference which is being held at Rio expresses its satisfaction at the happy results of their mediation for the celebration of peace between the Republics of Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador."

This affords an excellent example of one way in which the influence of the United States can properly be exercised for the benefit of the peoples of the Western Hemisphere; that is, by action taken in concert with other American republics and therefore free from those suspicions and prejudices which might attach if the action were taken by one alone. In this way it is possible to exercise a powerful influence toward the substitution of considerate action in the spirit of justice for the insurrectionary or international violence which has hitherto been so great a hindrance to the development of many of our neighbors. Repeated examples of united action by several or many American republics in favor of peace, by urging cool and reasonable, instead of excited and belligerent, treatment of international controversies, can not fail to promote the growth of a general public opinion among the American nations which will elevate the standards of international action, strengthen the

sense of international duty among governments, and tell in favor of the peace of mankind.

I have just returned from a trip to Panama and shall report to you at length later on the whole subject of the Panama Canal.

The Algeciras Convention, which was signed by the United States as well as by most of the powers of Europe, supersedes the previous convention of 1880, which was also signed both by the United States and a majority of the European powers. This treaty confers upon us equal commercial rights with all European countries and does not entail a single obligation of any kind upon us, and I earnestly hope it may be speedily ratified. To refuse to ratify it would merely mean that we forfeited our commercial rights in Morocco and would not achieve another object of any kind. In the event of such refusal we would be left for the first time in a hundred and twenty years without any commercial treaty with Morocco; and this at a time when we are everywhere seeking new markets and outlets for trade.

The destruction of the Pribilof Islands fur seals by pelagic sealing still continues. The herd which, according to the surveys made in 1874 by direction of the Congress, numbered 4,700,000, and which, according to the survey of both American and Canadian commissioners in 1891, amounted to 1,000,000,

has now been reduced to about 180,000. This result has been brought about by Canadian and some other sealing vessels killing the female seals while in the water during their annual pilgrimage to and from the south, or in search of food. As a rule the female seal when killed is pregnant, and also has an unweaned pup on land, so that, for each skin taken by pelagic sealing, as a rule, three lives are destroyed—the mother, the unborn offspring, and the nursing pup, which is left to starve to death. No damage whatever is done to the herd by the carefully regulated killing on land; the custom of pelagic sealing is solely responsible for all of the present evil, and is alike indefensible from the economic standpoint and from the standpoint of humanity.

In 1896 over 16,000 young seals were found dead from starvation on the Pribilof Islands. In 1897 it was estimated that since pelagic sealing began upward of 400,000 adult female seals had been killed at sea, and over 300,000 young seals had died of starvation as the result. The revolting barbarity of such a practice, as well as the wasteful destruction which it involves, needs no demonstration and is its own condemnation. The Bering Sea Tribunal, which sat in Paris in 1893, and which decided against the claims of the United States to exclusive jurisdiction in the waters of Bering Sea and to a property right in the fur seals when outside of the three-mile limit, determined also upon certain regulations which the Tribunal considered

sufficient for the proper protection and preservation of the fur seal in, or habitually resorting to, the Bering Sea. The Tribunal by its regulations established a close season, from the 1st of May to the 31st of July, and excluded all killing in the waters within sixty miles around the Pribilof Islands. They also provided that the regulations which they had determined upon, with a view to the protection and preservation of the seals, should be submitted every five years to new examination, so as to enable both interested Governments to consider whether, in the light of past experience, there was occasion for any modification thereof.

The regulations have proved plainly inadequate to accomplish the object of protection and preservation of the fur seals, and for a long time this Government has been trying in vain to secure from Great Britain such revision and modification of the regulations as were contemplated and provided for by the award of the Tribunal of Paris.

The process of destruction has been accelerated during recent years by the appearance of a number of Japanese vessels engaged in pelagic sealing. As these vessels have not been bound even by the inadequate limitations prescribed by the Tribunal of Paris, they have paid no attention either to the close season or to the sixty-mile limit imposed upon the Canadians, and have prosecuted their work up to the very islands themselves. On July 16 and 17, the crews from several Japanese vessels made raids upon the island of St. Paul, and before they were

beaten off by the very meagre and insufficiently armed guard, they succeeded in killing several hundred seals and carrying off the skins of most of them. Nearly all the seals killed were females, and the work was done with frightful barbarity. Many of the seals appear to have been skinned alive, and many were found half skinned and still alive. The raids were repelled only by the use of firearms, and five of the raiders were killed, two were wounded, and twelve captured, including the two wounded. Those captured have since been tried and sentenced to imprisonment. An attack of this kind had been wholly unlooked for, but such provision of vessels, arms, and ammunition will now be made that its repetition will not be found profitable.

Suitable representations regarding the incident have been made to the Government of Japan, and we are assured that all practicable measures will be taken by that country to prevent any recurrence of the outrage. On our part, the guard on the island will be increased, and better equipped and organized, and a better revenue-cutter patrol service about the islands will be established; next season a United States war vessel will also be sent there.

We have not relaxed our efforts to secure an agreement with Great Britain for adequate protection of the seal herd, and negotiations with Japan for the same purpose are in progress.

The laws for the protection of the seals within the jurisdiction of the United States need revision and amendment. Only the islands of St. Paul and

St. George are now, in terms, included in the Government reservation, and the other islands are also to be included. The landing of aliens as well as citizens upon the islands, without a permit from the Department of Commerce and Labor, for any purpose except in case of stress of weather or for water, should be prohibited under adequate penalties. The approach of vessels for the excepted purposes should be regulated. The authority of the Government agents on the islands should be enlarged, and the chief agent should have the powers of a committing magistrate. The entrance of a vessel into the territorial waters surrounding the islands with intent to take seals should be made a criminal offence and cause of forfeiture. Authority for seizures in such cases should be given, and the presence on any such vessel of seals or sealskins, or the paraphernalia for taking them, should be made *prima facie* evidence of such intent. I recommend what legislation is needed to accomplish these ends; and I commend to your attention the report of Mr. Sims, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, on this subject.

In case we are compelled to abandon the hope of making arrangements with other governments to put an end to the hideous cruelty now incident to pelagic sealing, it will be a question for your serious consideration how far we should continue to protect and maintain the seal herd on land with the result of continuing such a practice, and whether it is not better to end the practice by exterminating the herd ourselves in the most humane way possible.

In my last message I advised you that the Emperor of Russia had taken the initiative in bringing about a second peace conference at The Hague. Under the guidance of Russia the arrangement of the preliminaries for such a conference has been progressing during the past year. Progress has necessarily been slow, owing to the great number of countries to be consulted upon every question that has arisen. It is a matter of satisfaction that all of the American Republics have now, for the first time, been invited to join in the proposed conference.

The close connection between the subjects to be taken up by the Red Cross Conference held at Geneva last summer, and the subjects which naturally would come before the Hague Conference, made it apparent that it was desirable to have the work of the Red Cross Conference completed and considered by the different powers before the meeting at The Hague. The Red Cross Conference ended its labors on the 6th day of July, and the revised and amended convention, which was signed by the American delegates, will be promptly laid before the Senate.

By the special and highly appreciated courtesy of the Governments of Russia and the Netherlands, a proposal to call the Hague Conference together at a time which would conflict with the Conference of the American Republics at Rio de Janeiro in August was laid aside. No other date has yet been suggested. A tentative program for the con-

ference has been proposed by the Government of Russia, and the subjects which it enumerates are undergoing careful examination and consideration in preparation for the conference.

It must ever be kept in mind that war is not merely justifiable, but imperative, upon honorable men, upon an honorable nation, where peace can only be obtained by the sacrifice of conscientious conviction or of national welfare. Peace is normally a great good, and normally it coincides with righteousness; but it is righteousness and not peace which should bind the conscience of a nation as it should bind the conscience of an individual; and neither a nation nor an individual can surrender conscience to another's keeping. Neither can a nation, which is an entity, and which does not die as individuals die, refrain from taking thought for the interest of the generations that are to come, no less than for the interest of the generation of to-day; and no public men have a right, whether from short-sightedness, from selfish indifference, or from sentimentality, to sacrifice national interests which are vital in character. A just war is in the long run far better for a nation's soul than the most prosperous peace obtained by acquiescence in wrong or injustice. Moreover, though it is criminal for a nation not to prepare for war, so that it may escape the dreadful consequences of being defeated in war, yet it must always be remembered that even to be defeated in war may be far better than not to have

fought at all. As has been well and finely said, a beaten nation is not necessarily a disgraced nation; but the nation or man is disgraced if the obligation to defend right is shirked.

We should as a nation do everything in our power for the cause of honorable peace. It is morally as indefensible for a nation to commit a wrong upon another nation, strong or weak, as for an individual thus to wrong his fellows. We should do all in our power to hasten the day when there shall be peace among the nations—a peace based upon justice and not upon cowardly submission to wrong. We can accomplish a good deal in this direction, but we can not accomplish everything, and the penalty of attempting to do too much would almost inevitably be to do worse than nothing; for it must be remembered that fantastic extremists are not in reality leaders of the causes which they espouse, but are ordinarily those who do most to hamper the real leaders of the cause and to damage the cause itself. As yet there is no likelihood of establishing any kind of international power, of whatever sort, which can effectively check wrong-doing, and in these circumstances it would be both a foolish and an evil thing for a great and free nation to deprive itself of the power to protect its own rights and even in exceptional cases to stand up for the rights of others. Nothing would more promote iniquity, nothing would further defer the reign upon earth of peace and righteousness, than for the free and enlightened peoples which, though with much stumbling

and many shortcomings, nevertheless strive toward justice, deliberately to render themselves powerless while leaving every despotism and barbarism armed and able to work their wicked will. The chance for the settlement of disputes peacefully, by arbitration, now depends mainly upon the possession by the nations that mean to do right of sufficient armed strength to make their purpose effective.

The United States Navy is the surest guarantor of peace which this country possesses. It is earnestly to be wished that we would profit by the teachings of history in this matter. A strong and wise people will study its own failures no less than its triumphs, for there is wisdom to be learned from the study of both, of the mistake as well as of the success. For this purpose nothing could be more instructive than a rational study of the War of 1812, as it is told, for instance, by Captain Mahan. There was only one way in which that war could have been avoided. If during the preceding twelve years a navy relatively as strong as that which this country now has had been built up, and an army provided relatively as good as that which the country now has, there never would have been the slightest necessity of fighting the war; and if the necessity had arisen the war would under such circumstances have ended with our speedy and overwhelming triumph. But our people during those twelve years refused to make any preparations whatever, regarding either the Army or the Navy. They

saved a million or two of dollars by so doing; and in mere money paid a hundredfold for each million they thus saved during the three years of war which followed — a war which brought untold suffering upon our people, which at one time threatened the gravest national disaster, and which, in spite of the necessity of waging it, resulted merely in what was in effect a drawn battle, while the balance of defeat and triumph was almost even.

I do not ask that we continue to increase our Navy. I ask merely that it be maintained at its present strength; and this can be done only if we replace the obsolete and outworn ships by new and good ones, the equals of any afloat in any navy. To stop building ships for one year means that for that year the Navy goes back instead of forward. The old battleship "Texas," for instance, would now be of little service in a stand-up fight with a powerful adversary. The old double-turret monitors have outworn their usefulness, while it was a waste of money to build the modern single-turret monitors. All these ships should be replaced by others; and this can be done by a well-settled program of providing for the building each year of at least one first-class battleship equal in size and speed to any that any nation is at the same time building; the armament presumably to consist of as large a number as possible of very heavy guns of one calibre, together with smaller guns to repel torpedo attack; while there should be heavy armor, turbine engines, and, in short, every modern device. Of

course, from time to time, cruisers, colliers, torpedo-boat destroyers or torpedo boats, will have to be built also. All this, be it remembered, would not increase our Navy, but would merely keep it at its present strength. Equally of course, the ships will be absolutely useless if the men aboard them are not so trained that they can get the best possible service out of the formidable but delicate and complicated mechanisms intrusted to their care. The marksmanship of our men has so improved during the last five years that I deem it within bounds to say that the Navy is more than twice as efficient, ship for ship, as half a decade ago. The Navy can only attain proper efficiency if enough officers and men are provided, and if these officers and men are given the chance (and required to take advantage of it) to stay continually at sea and to exercise the fleets singly and above all in squadron, the exercise to be of every kind and to include unceasing practice at the guns, conducted under conditions that will test marksmanship in time of war.

In both the Army and the Navy there is urgent need that everything possible should be done to maintain the highest standard for the personnel, alike as regards the officers and the enlisted men. I do not believe that in any service there is a finer body of enlisted men and of junior officers than we have in both the Army and the Navy, including the Marine Corps. All possible encouragement to the enlisted men should be given, in pay and otherwise, and everything practicable done to render the ser-

vice attractive to men of the right type. They should be held to the strictest discharge of their duty, and in them a spirit should be encouraged which demands not the mere performance of duty, but the performance of far more than duty, if it conduces to the honor and the interest of the American Nation; and in return the amplest consideration should be theirs.

West Point and Annapolis already turn out excellent officers. We do not need to have these schools made more scholastic. On the contrary, we should never lose sight of the fact that the aim of each school is to turn out a man who shall be above everything else a fighting man. In the Army in particular it is not necessary that either the cavalry or infantry officer should have special mathematical ability. Probably in both schools the best part of the education is the high standard of character and of professional morale which it confers.

But in both services there is urgent need for the establishment of a principle of selection which will eliminate men after a certain age if they can not be promoted from the subordinate ranks, and which will bring into the higher ranks fewer men, and these at an earlier age. This principle of selection will be objected to by good men of mediocre capacity who are fitted to do well while young in the lower positions, but who are not fitted to do well when at an advanced age they come into positions of command and of great responsibility. But the desire of these men to be promoted to positions

which they are not competent to fill should not weigh against the interests of the Navy and the country. At present our men, especially in the Navy, are kept far too long in the junior grades, and then, at much too advanced an age, are put quickly through the senior grades, often not attaining to these senior grades until they are too old to be of real use in them; and if they are of real use, being put through them so quickly that little benefit to the Navy comes from their having been in them at all.

The Navy has one great advantage over the Army in the fact that the officers of high rank are actually trained in the continual performance of their duties; that is, in the management of the battleships and armored cruisers gathered into fleets. This is not true of the army officers, who rarely have corresponding chances to exercise command over troops under service conditions. The conduct of the Spanish War showed the lamentable loss of life, the useless extravagance, and the inefficiency certain to result, if during peace the high officials of the War and Navy Departments are praised and rewarded only if they save money at no matter what cost to the efficiency of the service, and if the higher officers are given no chance whatever to exercise and practice command. For years prior to the Spanish War the Secretaries of War were praised chiefly if they practiced economy; which economy, especially in connection with the quartermaster, commissary, and medical departments, was directly

responsible for most of the mismanagement that occurred in the war itself—and parenthetically be it observed that the very people who clamored for the misdirected economy in the first place were foremost to denounce the mismanagement, loss, and suffering which were primarily due to this same misdirected economy and to the lack of preparation it involved. There should soon be an increase in the number of men for our coast defences; these men should be of the right type and properly trained; and there should therefore be an increase of pay for certain skilled grades, especially in the coast artillery. Money should be appropriated to permit troops to be massed in body and exercised in manœuvres, particularly in marching. Such exercise during the summer just past has been of incalculable benefit to the Army, and should under no circumstances be discontinued. If on these practice marches and in these manœuvres elderly officers prove unable to bear the strain, they should be retired at once, for the fact is conclusive as to their unfitness for war; that is, for the only purpose because of which they should be allowed to stay in the service. It is a real misfortune to have scores of small company or regimental posts scattered throughout the country; the Army should be gathered in a few brigade or division posts; and the generals should be practiced in handling the men in masses. Neglect to provide for all of this means to incur the risk of future disaster and disgrace.

The readiness and efficiency of both the Army and Navy in dealing with the recent sudden crisis in Cuba illustrate afresh their value to the Nation. This readiness and efficiency would have been very much less had it not been for the existence of the General Staff in the Army and the General Board in the Navy; both are essential to the proper development and use of our military forces afloat and ashore. The troops that were sent to Cuba were handled flawlessly. It was the swiftest mobilization and despatch of troops oversea ever accomplished by our Government. The expedition landed completely equipped and ready for immediate service, several of its organizations hardly remaining in Havana overnight before splitting up into detachments and going to their several posts. It was a fine demonstration of the value and efficiency of the General Staff. Similarly, it was owing in large part to the General Board that the Navy was able at the outset to meet the Cuban crisis with such instant efficiency; ship after ship appearing on the shortest notice at any threatened point, while the Marine Corps in particular performed indispensable service. The Army and Navy War Colleges are of incalculable value to the two services, and they co-operate with constantly increasing efficiency and importance.

The Congress has most wisely provided for a National Board for the promotion of rifle practice. Excellent results have already come from this law, but it does not go far enough. Our Regular Army

is so small that in any great war we should have to trust mainly to volunteers; and in such event these volunteers should already know how to shoot; for if a soldier has the fighting edge, and ability to take care of himself in the open, his efficiency on the line of battle is almost directly proportionate to excellence in marksmanship. We should establish shooting galleries in all the large public and military schools, should maintain national target ranges in different parts of the country, and should in every way encourage the formation of rifle clubs throughout all parts of the land. The little Republic of Switzerland offers us an excellent example in all matters connected with building up an efficient citizen soldiery.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 5, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I feel it my duty to call your attention to the facts that, under the provisions of Articles 36 and 37 of the Articles for the Government of the Navy, the President has no longer the authority to dismiss an officer of the Navy, in time of peace, unless in pursuance of a sentence of a general court-martial, and, even in time of war, his right of dismissal is practically subject to review by a court-martial, to be assembled within six months, if the accused officer demands this court. The Articles in question are in the terms following:

ARTICLE 36.—No officer shall be dismissed from

the naval service except by the order of the President or by sentence of a general court-martial; and in time of peace no officer shall be dismissed except in pursuance of the sentence of a general court-martial or in mitigation thereof.

ARTICLE 37.—When any officer dismissed by order of the President since 3d March, 1865, makes, in writing, an application for trial, setting forth, under oath, that he has been wrongfully dismissed, the President shall, as soon as the necessities of the service may permit, convene a court-martial to try such officer on the charges on which he shall have been dismissed. And if such court-martial shall not be convened within six months from the presentation of such application for trial, or if such court, being convened, shall not award dismissal or death as the punishment of such officer, the order of dismissal by the President shall be void.

This condition of the law was called to my attention by a recent painful and humiliating incident. On May 9, 1905, an officer of the Navy was accused of behavior so indecent and disgusting as to show clearly his unfitness (if guilty, as charged) to hold a commission or associate with officers and gentlemen. The nature of the alleged misconduct and the lack of compulsory power in naval courts to enforce the attendance of civilian witnesses, as well as the locality where the offence was said to have been committed, caused a long and very unfortunate, although quite unavoidable,

delay in his trial by court-martial, which did not occur until January 18, 1906. He was then convicted, but the Court while imposing a severe penalty, to my surprise as well as that of the Navy Department, did not sentence the offender to dismissal from the service. The failure of the Court to rid the Navy of one so clearly unfit to form a part of it was commented upon in appropriate terms by the Department, but it was then and has been since a source of profound regret to me that the law, as above set forth, made it impracticable for me to afford a remedy for this failure. Moreover, it is to be remembered that, owing to the inability of naval courts, as above explained, to compel the attendance of civilian witnesses, and the further fact that they have no authority to receive as evidence the depositions of absent witnesses, while the exigencies of the service may often cause officers and men cognizant of the facts to be employed in distant places at the time of the trial, there is great danger lest offences of the nature charged against this man should go altogether unpunished. In this case it was found very difficult to overcome the natural reluctance of some of the witnesses to attend and testify.

I am convinced that the President should have the authority, upon his own initiative and responsibility, to dismiss any officer whom he thinks unworthy to remain in the service. I think there is no danger that this power would be abused, and, if such danger exists at all, it is so slight as to be

altogether outweighed by the considerations of public policy which require this authority to be vested in the Constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the Navy. I therefore strongly recommend that Article 36, as hereinbefore given, be amended by omitting all of it after the words "general court-martial" where these words first occur therein, and that Article 37 be repealed.

TO THE DELEGATES OF THE WATERWAYS CONVENTION, AT WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 7, 1906

Gentlemen:

It is a very real pleasure to greet so distinguished a body of men who have come to this great city, the capital of the Nation, in connection with a measure of the utmost consequence to the Nation as a whole. I have come to feel a growing sense of the importance of establishing a far-reaching coherent plan for the general improvement of the waterways of the country. I was first led to consideration of that plan by considering another plan for the use of water not in connection with waterways, but in connection with preparing the land at the head of the river to produce the harvests that later in part should be carried on the rivers lower down—that is in connection with the irrigation policy, in which I so strongly believe as vital to the welfare of the Rocky Mountain and adjacent States. Just as I feel that the National Government should concern itself with utilization of the water of rivers in

their sources where the country is dry, so I feel that the National Government should concern itself with the proper control and utilization of the water lower down in the rivers where they are fitted to be the great arteries of communication. I have had it brought strikingly to my attention but recently how much we suffer at present because of the inadequate transportation facilities of the railways for moving the great grain crops and cattle crop of this country. We need and must have further facilities for transportation, and as has been well pointed out, one of the effective methods of affecting railway rates is to provide for a proper system of water transportation.

It would not be possible for me to enter into any discussion of the details of your plan until I have spoken with some of the leaders of the two Houses of Congress. I shall consult with them at once and trust that something definite and effective can be done along the lines that you mention. You understand, gentlemen, I could not offhand commit myself to the details of any policy without taking into consideration what the feeling of the coordinate branch would be, and I must be guided largely by their views. I am sure that you will find there the genuine, patriotic purpose to do what is best for the interest of our common country

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 11, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

On November 21 I visited the island of Porto Rico, landing at Ponce, crossing by the old Spanish road by Cayey to San Juan, and returning next morning over the new American road from Arecibo to Ponce; the scenery was wonderfully beautiful, especially among the mountains of the interior, which constitute a veritable tropic Switzerland. I could not embark at San Juan because the harbor has not been dredged out and can not receive an American battleship. I do not think this fact creditable to us as a nation, and I earnestly hope that immediate provision will be made for dredging San Juan Harbor.

I doubt whether our people as a whole realize the beauty and fertility of Porto Rico, and the progress that has been made under its admirable government. We have just cause for pride in the character of our representatives who have administered the tropic islands which came under our flag as the result of the war with Spain; and of no one of them is this more true than of Porto Rico. It would be impossible to wish a more faithful, a more efficient, and a more disinterested public service than that now being rendered in the island of Porto Rico by those in control of the insular government.

I stopped at a dozen towns all told, and one of

the notable features in every town was the gathering of the school children. The work that has been done in Porto Rico for education has been noteworthy. The main emphasis, as is eminently wise and proper, has been put upon primary education; but in addition to this there is a normal school, an agricultural school, three industrial and three high schools. Every effort is being made to secure not only the benefits of elementary education to all the Porto Ricans of the next generation, but also as far as means will permit to train them so that the industrial, agricultural, and commercial opportunities of the island can be utilized to the best possible advantage. It was evident at a glance that the teachers, both Americans and native Porto Ricans, were devoted to their work, took the greatest pride in it, and were endeavoring to train their pupils, not only in mind, but in what counts for far more than mind in citizenship—that is, in character.

I was very much struck by the excellent character both of the insular police and of the Porto Rican regiment. They are both of them bodies that reflect credit upon the American administration of the island. The insular police are under the local Porto Rican government. The Porto Rican regiment of troops must be appropriated for by the Congress. I earnestly hope that this body will be kept permanent. There should certainly be troops in the island, and it is wise that these troops should be themselves native Porto Ricans. It

would be from every standpoint a mistake not to perpetuate this regiment.

In traversing the island even the most cursory survey leaves the beholder struck with the evident rapid growth in the culture both of the sugar cane and tobacco. The fruit industry is also growing. Last year was the most prosperous year that the island has ever known before or since the American occupation. The total of exports and imports of the island was forty-five millions of dollars as against eighteen millions in 1901. This is the largest in the island's history. Prior to the American occupation the greatest trade for any one year was that of 1896, when it reached nearly twenty-three millions of dollars. Last year, therefore, there was double the trade that there was in the most prosperous year under the Spanish régime. There were 210,273 tons of sugar exported last year, of the value of $14,186,319; $3,555,163 of tobacco, and 28,290,322 pounds of coffee of the value of $3,481,102. Unfortunately what used to be Porto Rico's prime crop—coffee—has not shared this prosperity. It has never recovered from the disaster of the hurricane, and, moreover, the benefit of throwing open our market to it has not compensated for the loss inflicted by the closing of the markets to it abroad. I call your attention to the accompanying memorial on this subject, of the Board of Trade of San Juan, and I earnestly hope that some measure will be taken for the benefit of the excellent and high-grade Porto Rican coffee.

In addition to the delegations from the Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce of San Juan, I also received delegations from the Porto Rican Federation of Labor and from the Coffee Growers' Association.

There is a matter to which I wish to call your special attention, and that is, the desirability of conferring full American citizenship upon the people of Porto Rico. I most earnestly hope that this will be done. I can not see how any harm can possibly result from it, and it seems to me a matter of right and justice to the people of Porto Rico. They are loyal, they are glad to be under our flag, they are making rapid progress along the path of orderly liberty. Surely we should show our appreciation of them, our pride in what they have done, and our pleasure in extending recognition for what has thus been done, by granting them full American citizenship.

Under the wise administration of the present governor and council, marked progress has been made in the difficult matter of granting to the people of the island the largest measure of self-government that can with safety be given at the present time. It would have been a very serious mistake to have gone any faster than we have already gone in this direction. The Porto Ricans have complete and absolute autonomy in all their municipal governments, the only power over them possessed by the insular government being that of removing corrupt or incompetent municipal officials. This

power has never been exercised save on the clearest proof of corruption or of incompetence—such as to jeopardize the interests of the people of the island; and under such circumstances it has been fearlessly used to the immense benefit of the people. It is not a power with which it would be safe, for the sake of the island itself, to dispense at present. The lower house is absolutely elective, while the upper house is appointive. This scheme is working well; no injustice of any kind results from it, and great benefit to the island, and it should certainly not be changed at this time. The machinery of the elections is administered entirely by the Porto Rican people themselves, the governor and council keeping only such supervision as is necessary in order to ensure an orderly election. Any protest as to electoral frauds is settled in the courts. Here again it would not be safe to make any change in the present system. The elections this year were absolutely orderly, unaccompanied by any disturbance; and no protest has been made against the management of the elections, although three contests are threatened where the majorities were very small and error was claimed; the contests, of course, to be settled in the courts. In short, the governor and council are co-operating with all of the most enlightened and most patriotic of the people of Porto Rico in educating the citizens of the island in the principles of orderly liberty. They are providing a government based upon each citizen's self-respect, and the mutual respect of all citizens; that

is, based upon a rigid observance of the principles of justice and honesty. It has not been easy to instil into the minds of people unaccustomed to the exercise of freedom, the two basic principles of our American system; the principle that the majority must rule, and the principle that the minority has rights which must not be disregarded or trampled upon. Yet real progress has been made in having these principles accepted as elementary, as the foundations of successful self-government.

I transmit herewith the report of the governor of Porto Rico, sent to the President through the Secretary of State.

All the insular governments should be placed in one bureau, either in the Department of War or the Department of State. It is a mistake not so to arrange our handling of these islands at Washington as to be able to take advantage of the experience gained in one, when dealing with the problems that from time to time arise in another

In conclusion, let me express my admiration for the work done by the Congress when it enacted the law under which the island is now being administered. After seeing the island personally, and after five years' experience in connection with its administration, it is but fair to those who devised this law to say that it would be wellnigh impossible to have devised any other which in the actual working would have accomplished better results.

IN PRESENTING A MEDAL TO COMMANDER PEARY ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY, AT A BANQUET TENDERED HIM AT THE NEW WILLARD, WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 15, 1906

Mr. Chairman; and Ladies and Gentlemen:

I count myself fortunate in having been asked to be present this evening at such a gathering and in behalf of such a society to pay a tribute of honor to an American who has emphatically deserved well of the commonwealth. Civilized people usually live under conditions of life so easy that there are certain tendencies to atrophy the hardier virtues; and it is a good thing to pay signal honor to a man who by his achievements makes it evident that in some at least of the race there has been no loss of hardy fibre. I said some loss of the hardier virtues. We will do well to recollect that the very word virtue in its original significance meant courage and hardihood. When the Roman spoke of virtue he meant that sum of qualities which we characterize as manliness. I emphatically believe in peace and all the kindred virtues; but I think they are only worth having if they come as a consequence of possessing the complementary virtues of courage and hardihood. I feel that in an age which naturally and properly exalts as it should exalt the milder and softer qualities there is need that we should not forget that in the last analysis the safe basis of a successful national character must rest upon the

great fighting virtues. And these great fighting virtues can be shown quite as well in peace as in war. They can be shown in the work of the philanthropist. They can be shown emphatically in the work of the scientist. And they can be shown most emphatically of all in the work of the explorer who faces and overcomes perils which the average soldier never in his life has overcome. In war, after all, it is only the man at the very head who is lonely. All the others, from the subordinate generals down through the privates, are cheered and sustained by the sense of companionship, by the sense of divided responsibility.

You, the man whom we join to honor to-night, you had month in and month out, year in and year out, to front perils and overcome the greatest risks and difficulties with resting on your shoulders the undivided responsibility that meant life or death to you and your followers. You had to show in addition what the modern commander, with his great responsibility, does not always have to show. You had to show all the moral qualities of the commander in war, together with all the physical hardihood of the man that commander commands. You did a great deed; a deed that counted for all mankind; a deed that reflected credit upon your country; and on behalf of those present and speaking also for the millions of your countrymen, I take pleasure in handing to you this Hubbard Medal and in welcoming you home from the great feat that you have performed, Commander Peary.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 17, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The developments of the past year emphasize with increasing force the need of vigorous and immediate action to recast the public land laws and adapt them to the actual situation. The Timber and Stone Act has demonstrated conclusively that its effect is to turn over the public timber lands to great corporations. It has done enormous harm, it is no longer needed, and it should be repealed.

The Desert Land Act results so frequently in fraud and so comparatively seldom in making homes on the land that it demands radical amendment. That provision which permits assignment before patent should be repealed, and the entryman should be required to live for not less than two years at home on the land before patent issues. Otherwise the Desert Land law will continue to assist speculators and other large holders to get control of land and water on the public domain by indefensible means.

The commutation clause of the Homestead Act serves, in a majority of cases, to defeat the purpose of the Homestead Act itself, which is to facilitate settlement and create homes. In theory the commutation clause should assist the honest settler, and doubtless in some cases it does so. Far more often, it supplies the means by which speculators and loan

and mortgage companies secure possession of the land. Actual—not constructive—living at home on the land for three years should be required before commutation unless it should appear wiser to repeal the commutation clause altogether.

These matters are more fully discussed in the Report of the Public Lands Commission, to which I again call your attention.

I am gravely concerned at the extremely unsatisfactory condition of the public land laws and at the prevalence of fraud under their present provisions. For much of this fraud the present laws are chiefly responsible. There is but one way by which the fraudulent acquisition of these lands can be definitely stopped; and therefore I have directed the Secretary of the Interior to allow no patent to be issued to public land under any law until by an examination on the ground actual compliance with that law has been found to exist. For this purpose an increase of special agents in the General Land Office is urgently required; unless it is given, bonâ fide would-be settlers will be put to grave inconvenience, or else the fraud will in large part go on. Further, the Secretary of the Interior should be enabled to employ enough mining experts to examine the validity of all mineral land claims, and to undertake the supervision and control of the use of the mineral fuels still belonging to the United States. The present coal law limiting the individual entry to 160 acres puts a premium on fraud by making it impossible to develop certain types of

coal fields and yet comply with the law. It is a scandal to maintain laws which sound well, but which make fraud the key without which great natural resources must remain closed. The law should give individuals and corporations, under proper Government regulation and control (the details of which I shall not at present discuss), the right to work bodies of coal land large enough for profitable development. My own belief is that there should be provision for leasing coal, oil, and gas rights under proper restrictions. If the additional force of special agents and mining experts I recommend is provided and well used, the result will be not only to stop the land frauds, but to prevent delays in patenting valid land claims, and to conserve the indispensable fuel resources of the Nation.

Many of the existing laws affecting rights of way and privileges on public lands and reservations are illogical and unfair. Some work injustice by granting valuable rights in perpetuity without return. Others fail to protect the grantee in his possession of permanent improvements made at large expense. In fairness to the Government, to the holders of rights and privileges on the public lands, and to the people whom the latter serve, I urge the revision and re-enactment of these laws in one comprehensive act, providing that the regulations and the charge now in force in many cases may be extended to all, to the end that un-

regulated or monopolistic control of great natural resources may not be acquired or misused for private ends.

The boundaries of the national forest reserves unavoidably include certain valuable timber lands not owned by the Government. Important among them are the land grants of various railroads. For more than two years negotiations with the land grant railroads have been in progress, looking toward an arrangement by which the forest on railroad lands within national forest reserves may be preserved by the removal of the present crop of timber under rules prescribed by the Forest Service, and its perpetuation may be assured by the transfer of the land to the Government without cost. The advantage of such an arrangement to the Government lies in the acquisition of lands whose protection is necessary to the general welfare. The advantage to the railroads is found in the proposal to allow them to consolidate their holdings of timber within forest reserves by exchange after deeding their lands to the Government, and thus to cut within a limited time solid bodies of timber instead of alternate sections, although the amount of timber in each case would be the same. It is possible that legislation will be required to authorize this or a similar arrangement with the railroads and other owners. If so I recommend that it be enacted.

The money value of the national forests now re-

served for the use and benefit of the people exceeds considerably the sum of one thousand millions of dollars. The stumpage value of the standing timber approaches seven hundred million dollars, and together with the range and timber lands, the water for irrigation and power, and the subsidiary values, reaches an amount equal to that of the national property now under the immediate control of the Army and Navy together. But this vast domain is withheld from serving the Nation as freely and fully as it might by the lack of capital to develop it. The yearly running expenses are sufficiently met by the annual appropriation and the proceeds of the forests. Under the care of the Forest Service the latter are increasing at the rate of more than half a million dollars a year; the estimate of appropriation for the present year is less than for last year; and it is confidently expected that by 1910 the Forest Service will be entirely self-supporting. In the mean time there is the most urgent need for trails, fences, cabins for the rangers, bridges, telephone lines, and the other items of equipment without which the reserves can not be handled to advantage, can not be protected properly, and can not contribute as they should to the general welfare. Expenditures for such permanent improvements are properly chargeable to capital account. The lack of reasonable working equipment weakens the protection of the national forests and greatly limits their production. This want can not be supplied from the appropriation for running

expenses. The need is urgent. Accordingly I recommend that the Secretary of the Treasury be authorized to advance to the Forest Service, upon the security of the standing timber, an amount, say $5,000,000, sufficient to provide a reasonable working capital for the national forests, to bear interest and to be repaid in annual instalments beginning in ten years.

The national parks of the West are forested and they lie without exception within or adjacent to national forest reserves. Two years ago the latter were transferred to the care of the Secretary of Agriculture, with the most satisfactory results. The same reasons which led to this transfer make advisable a similar transfer of the national parks, now in charge of the Secretary of the Interior, and I recommend legislation to that end.

Within or adjoining national forests are considerable areas of Indian lands of more value under forest than for any other purpose. It would aid greatly in putting these lands to their best use if the power to create national forests by proclamation were extended to cover them. The Indians should be paid the full value of any land thus taken for public purposes, from the proceeds of the lands themselves, but such land should revert to the Indians if it is excluded from national forest use before full payment has been made.

The control of grazing in the national forests is an assured success. The condition of the range is improving rapidly, water is being developed, much feed formerly wasted is now saved and used, range controversies are settled, opposition to the grazing fee is practically at an end, and the stockmen are earnestly supporting the Forest Service and cooperating with it effectively for the improvement of the range.

The situation on the open Government range is strikingly different. Its carrying capacity has probably been reduced one-half by overgrazing, and is still falling. Range controversies in many places are active and bitter, and life and property are often in danger. The interests both of the live-stock industry and of the Government are needlessly impaired. The present situation is indefensible from any point of view, and it should be ended.

I recommend that a bill be enacted which will provide for Government control of the public range through the Department of Agriculture, which alone is equipped for that work. Such a bill should ensure to each locality rules for grazing specially adapted to its needs and should authorize the collection of a reasonable grazing fee. Above all, the rights of the settler and homemaker should be absolutely guaranteed.

Much of the public land can only be used to advantage for grazing when fenced. Much fencing has been done for that reason, and also to prevent

other stock owners from using land to which they have an equal right under the law. Reasonable fencing which promotes the use of the range and yet interferes neither with settlement nor with other range rights, would be thoroughly desirable if it were legal. Yet the law forbids it, and the law must and will be enforced; I will see to it that the illegal fences are removed unless Congress, at the present session, takes steps to legalize proper fencing by Government control of the range.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 17, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In my last three annual messages I have invited the attention of the Congress to the urgent necessity of such legislation as will cause officers of the line of the Navy to reach the grades of captain and rear-admiral at less advanced ages and will give them more experience and training in the important duties of those grades. Under the present archaic system of promotion, without parallel in the navy of any other first-class power, captains are commissioned at the average age of fifty-six and rear-admirals at the average age of sixty. This system is the result of a long-continued prejudice in favor of a method of promotion by which all lieutenants in order of seniority pass through the several grades until they eventually become rear-admirals;

a method which sacrifices the good of the service to the interest of individual mediocrity. As a direct consequence of the existing method naval officers obtain more than ample service in subordinate positions, but have a limited and inadequate experience as captains in command of battleships and as flag officers in charge of fleets and squadrons; that is, in the very positions of greatest responsibility, where experience, skill, and initiative are essential to efficiency. Moreover, they attain the position of a flag officer but a few months before they reach the retiring age and have no opportunity to perfect themselves in the important duties of the high commands pertaining to such rank.

History, modern and ancient, has invariably shown that an efficient personnel is the greatest factor toward an effective navy. No matter how well equipped in other respects a navy may be, though its fleet may be composed of powerful, high-speed battleships, manœuvred by complicated tactics based upon the latest development of naval science, yet it is grievously handicapped if directed by admirals and captains who lack experience in their duties and who are hampered by long deprivation of independent action and responsibility. To oppose such a fleet to one equally good, led by officers more active and more experienced in their duties, is to invite disaster.

The following table gives the ages of the youngest captains and flag officers, with the average years in grade, in the navies of Great

Britain, France, Germany, Japan, and the United States:

	Captains		Sea-going flag officers	
	Age	Average years in grade	Age	Average years in grade
Great Britain	35	11.2	45	8.0
France	47	9.5	53	14.2
Germany	42	6.2	51	6.0
Japan	38	8.0	44	11.0
United States	55	4.5	59	1.5

The facts shown in this table are startling, and earnest attention is invited to them.

The Secretary of the Navy several months ago convened a board of six representative line officers with the Assistant Secretary of the Navy as President, to consider and recommend such changes in existing law relative to the commissioned personnel of the line of the Navy as would tend to promote efficiency and economy. The essential recommendations of the board have been cordially approved by the Secretary. The bill, herewith transmitted to the Congress, has been formulated by the Secretary and is based, except in a few details, upon the recommendations of the board. I earnestly recommend its early consideration. Should it be enacted into law it will cause officers on the sea-going list to reach the grade of captain at forty-eight and rear-admiral at fifty-five, and will assure their serving seven years in the grade of captain and seven years in the grade of rear-admiral, thus enabling

them to become thoroughly skilful and efficient in these grades.

The accompanying bill also establishes the grade of vice-admiral. This grade has long existed in all other principal navies of the world in order to obtain a selected grade of skilled commanders-in-chief. The commander-in-chief of a fleet, with one or more rear-admirals serving under him, is logically entitled to a higher rank than his subordinates, because of his greater authority and responsibility. On occasions of official importance, of international council, or of combined naval action (as, for instance, the Boxer troubles in China), the interests of this great Nation demand that our naval representative shall rank as the equal of the naval representatives of other powers.

Moreover, under the accompanying bill, which is the result of recommendations made by a board principally composed of naval officers, a large percentage of the officers are eliminated from the sea-going list and never reach the grade of rear-admiral. When it is considered that the naval officers themselves recommend, in order to increase the efficiency of their service, that many be denied their existing privilege of reaching flag rank, it is only just to them that we should place their highest officers on a plane of equal rank with their colleagues of other nations, with whom they are so frequently brought in official contact.

If the proposed plan of promotion is carried out, it will, as compared with existing law, make a sav-

ing of more than $5,000,000 during the next seven years. The principal part of this saving is made by stopping the voluntary retirement of young lieutenant-commanders with the rank and pay of commanders upon the retired list.

I am firmly of the opinion that unless the present condition of the higher commissioned personnel is rectified by judicious legislation, the future of our Navy will be gravely compromised.

I forward herewith a letter of the Secretary of the Navy, enclosing duplicate drafts of the proposed bill. I also forward a copy of the report of the Personnel Board of the Navy.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 17, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

In the month of November I visited the Isthmus of Panama, going over the Canal Zone with considerable care; and also visited the cities of Panama and Colon, which are not in the Zone or under the United States flag, but as to which the United States Government, through its agents, exercises control for certain sanitary purposes.

The U. S. S. "Louisiana," on which I was, anchored off Colon about half-past two on Wednesday afternoon, November 14. I came aboard her, after my stay on shore, at about half-past nine on Saturday evening, November 17. On Wednesday afternoon and evening I received the President of Panama and his suite, and saw members of the Canal

Commission, and various other gentlemen, perfecting the arrangements for my visit, so that every hour that I was ashore could be employed to advantage. I was three days ashore—not a sufficient length of time to allow of an exhaustive investigation of the minutiæ of the work of any single department, still less to pass judgment on the engineering problems, but enough to enable me to get a clear idea of the salient features of the great work and of the progress that has been made as regards the sanitation of the Zone, Colon, and Panama, the caring for and housing of the employees, and the actual digging of the canal. The Zone is a narrow strip of land, and it can be inspected much as one can inspect fifty or sixty miles of a great railroad, at the point where it runs through mountains or overcomes other natural obstacles.

I chose the month of November for my visit partly because it is the rainiest month of the year, the month in which the work goes forward at the greatest disadvantage, and one of the two months which the medical department of the French Canal Company found most unhealthy.

Immediately after anchoring on the afternoon of Wednesday there was a violent storm of wind and rain. From that time we did not again see the sun until Saturday morning, the rain continuing almost steadily, but varying from a fine drizzle to a torrential downpour. During that time in fifteen minutes at Cristobal 1.05 inches of rain fell; from 1 to 3 A. M., November 16, 3.2 inches fell; for

the twenty-four hours ending noon, November 16, 4.68 inches fell, and for the six days ending noon, November 16, 10.24 inches fell. The Chagres rose in flood to a greater height than it had attained during the last fifteen years, tearing out the track in one place. It would have been impossible to see the work going on under more unfavorable weather conditions. On Saturday, November 17, the sun shone now and then for a few minutes, although the day was generally overcast and there were heavy showers at intervals.

On Thursday morning we landed at about half-past seven, and went slowly over the line of the Panama Railway, ending with an expedition in a tug at the Pacific entrance of the canal out to the islands where the dredging for the canal will cease. We took our dinner at one of the eating-houses furnished by the Commission for the use of the Government employees—no warning of our coming being given. I inspected the Ancon Hospital, going through various wards both for white patients and for colored patients. I inspected portions of the constabulary (Zone police), examining the men individually. I also examined certain of the schools and saw the school-children, both white and colored, speaking with certain of the teachers. In the afternoon of this day I was formally received in Panama by President Amador, who, together with the Government and all the people of Panama, treated me with the most considerate courtesy, for

which I hereby extend my most earnest thanks. I was driven through Panama, and in a public square was formally received and welcomed by the President and other members of the Government; and in the evening I attended a dinner given by the President, and a reception, which was also a Government function. I also drove through the streets of Panama for the purpose of observing what had been done. We slept at the Hotel Tivoli, at Ancon, which is on a hill directly outside of the city of Panama, but in the Zone.

On Friday morning we left the hotel at seven o'clock, and spent the entire day going through the Culebra cut—the spot in which most work will have to be done in any event. We watched the different steam shovels working; we saw the drilling and blasting; we saw many of the dirt trains (of the two different types used), both carrying the earth away from the steam shovels and depositing it on the dumps—some of the dumps being run out in the jungle merely to get rid of the earth, while in other cases they are being used for double tracking the railway, and in preparing to build the great dams. I visited many of the different villages, inspecting thoroughly many different buildings—the local receiving hospitals, the houses in which the unmarried white workmen live, those in which the unmarried colored workmen live; also the quarters of the white married employees and of the married colored employees, as well as the commissary stores,

the bathhouses, the water-closets, the cook sheds for the colored laborers, and the Government canteens, or hotels, at which most of the white employees take their meals. I went through the machine shops. During the day I talked with scores of different men — superintendents and heads of departments, divisions, and bureaus; steam-shovel men, machinists, conductors, engineers, clerks, wives of the American employees, health officers, colored laborers, colored attendants, and managers of the commissary stores where food is sold to the colored laborers; wives of the colored employees. In the evening I had an interview with the British Consul, Mr. Mallet, a gentleman who for many years has well and honorably represented the British Government on the Isthmus of Panama, and who has a peculiar relation to our work because the bulk of the colored laborers come from the British West Indies. I also saw the French Consul, Mr. Gey, a gentleman of equally long service and honorable record. I saw the lieutenants, the chief executive and administrative officers, under the engineering and sanitary departments. I also saw and had long talks with two deputations—one of machinists and one representing the railway men of the dirt trains—listening to what they had to say as to rate of pay and various other matters, and going over, as much in detail as possible, all the different questions they brought up. As to some matters I was able to meet their wishes; as to others, I felt that what they requested could not be done

consistently with my duty to the United States Government as a whole; as to yet others I reserved judgment.

On Saturday morning we started at eight o'clock from the hotel. We went through the Culebra cut, stopping off to see the marines, and also to investigate certain towns; one, of white employees, as to which in certain respects complaint had been made to me; and another town where I wanted to see certain houses of the colored employees. We went over the site of the proposed Gatun Dam, having on the first day inspected the sites of the proposed La Boca and Sosa Dams. We went out on a little toy railway to the reservoir, which had been built to supply the people of Colon with water for their houses. There we took lunch at the engineers' mess. We then went through the stores and shops of Cristobal, inspecting carefully the houses of both the white and colored employees, married and unmarried, together with the other buildings. We then went to Colon and saw the Fire Department at work; in four minutes from the signal the engines had come down to Front Street, and twenty-one two and one-half inch hose pipes were raising streams of water about seventy-five feet high. We rode about Colon, through the various streets, paved, unpaved, and in process of paving, looking at the ditches, sewers, curbing, and the lights. I then went over the Colon Hospital in order to compare it with the temporary town or field receiving

hospitals which I had already seen and inspected. I also inspected some of the dwellings of the employees. In the evening I attended a reception given by the American employees on the Isthmus, which took place on one of the docks in Colon, and from there went aboard the "Louisiana."

Each day from twelve to eighteen hours were spent in going over and inspecting all there was to be seen, and in examining various employees. Throughout my trip I was accompanied by the Surgeon-General of the Navy, Doctor Rixey; by the Chairman of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Mr. Shonts; by Chief Engineer Stevens, by Doctor Gorgas, the chief sanitary officer of the Commission; by Mr. Bishop, the Secretary of the Commission; by Mr. Ripley, the Principal Assistant Engineer; by Mr. Jackson Smith, who has had practical charge of collecting and handling the laboring force; by Mr. Bierd, general manager of the railway, and by Mr. Rogers, the general counsel of the Commission; and many other officials joined us from time to time.

At the outset I wish to pay a tribute to the amount of work done by the French Canal Company under very difficult circumstances. Many of the buildings they put up were excellent and are still in use, though, naturally, the houses are now getting out of repair and are being used as dwellings only until other houses can be built, and much of the work they did in the Culebra cut, and some of the work they did in digging has been of direct

and real benefit. This country has never made a better investment than the $40,000,000 which it paid to the French Company for work and betterments, including especially the Panama Railroad.

An inspection on the ground at the height of the rainy season served to convince me of the wisdom of Congress in refusing to adopt either a high-level or a sea-level canal. There seems to be a universal agreement among all people competent to judge that the Panama route, the one actually chosen, is much superior to both the Nicaragua and Darien routes.

The wisdom of the canal management has been shown in nothing more clearly than in the way in which the foundations of the work have been laid. To have yielded to the natural impatience of ill-informed outsiders and begun all kinds of experiments in work prior to a thorough sanitation of the Isthmus, and to a fairly satisfactory working out of the problem of getting and keeping a sufficient labor supply, would have been disastrous. The various preliminary measures had to be taken first; and these could not be taken so as to allow us to begin the real work of construction prior to January 1 of the present year. It then became necessary to have the type of the canal decided, and the only delay has been the necessary delay until the 29th day of June, the date when the Congress definitely and wisely settled that we should have an eighty-five-foot-level canal. Immediately after that the work began in hard earnest, and has been continued

with increasing vigor ever since; and it will continue so to progress in the future. When the contracts are let the conditions will be such as to ensure a constantly increasing amount of performance.

The first great problem to be solved, upon the solution of which the success of the rest of the work depended, was the problem of sanitation. This was from the outset under the direction of Dr. W. C. Gorgas, who is to be made a full member of the Commission, if the law as to the composition of the Commission remains unchanged. It must be remembered that his work was not mere sanitation as the term is understood in our ordinary municipal work. Throughout the Zone and in the two cities of Panama and Colon, in addition to the sanitation work proper, he has had to do all the work that the Marine Hospital Service does as regards the Nation, that the health department officers do in the various States and cities, and that Colonel Waring did in New York when he cleaned its streets. The results have been astounding. The Isthmus had been a byword for deadly unhealthfulness. Now, after two years of our occupation, the conditions as regards sickness and the death rate compare favorably with reasonably healthy localities in the United States. Especial care has been devoted to minimizing the risk due to the presence of those species of mosquitoes which have been found to propogate malarial and yellow fevers. In all the settlements, the little temporary towns or

cities composed of the white and black employees, which grow up here and there in the tropic jungle as the needs of the work dictate, the utmost care is exercised to keep the conditions healthy. Everywhere are to be seen the drainage ditches which in removing the water have removed the breeding places of the mosquitoes, while the whole jungle is cut away for a considerable space around the habitations, thus destroying the places in which the mosquitoes take shelter. These drainage ditches and clearings are in evidence in every settlement, and, together with the invariable presence of mosquito screens around the piazzas, and of mosquito doors to the houses, not to speak of the careful fumigation that has gone on in all infected houses, doubtless explain the extraordinary absence of mosquitoes. As a matter of fact, but a single mosquito, and this not of the dangerous species, was seen by any member of our party during my three days on the Isthmus. Equal care is taken by the inspectors of the Health Department to secure cleanliness in the houses and proper hygienic conditions of every kind. I inspected between twenty and thirty water-closets, both those used by the white employees and those used by the colored laborers. In almost every case I found the conditions perfect. In but one case did I find them really bad. In this case, affecting a settlement of unmarried white employees, I found them very bad indeed, but the buildings were all inherited from the French Company and were being used temporarily while other buildings were in the

course of construction; and right near the defective water-closet a new and excellent closet with a good sewer pipe was in process of construction and nearly finished. Nevertheless this did not excuse the fact that the bad condition had been allowed to prevail. Temporary accommodations, even if only such as soldiers use when camped in the field, should have been provided. Orders to this effect were issued. I append the report of Doctor Gorgas on the incident. I was struck, however, by the fact that in this instance, as in almost every other where a complaint was made which proved to have any justification whatever, it appeared that steps had already been taken to remedy the evil complained of, and that the trouble was mainly due to the extreme difficulty, and often impossibility, of providing in every place for the constant increase in the numbers of employees. Generally the provision is made in advance, but it is not possible that this should always be the case; when it is not there ensues a period of time during which the conditions are unsatisfactory, until a remedy can be provided; but I never found a case where the remedy was not being provided as speedily as possible.

I inspected the large hospitals at Ancon and Colon, which are excellent examples of what tropical hospitals should be. I also inspected the receiving hospitals in various settlements. I went through a number of the wards in which the colored men are treated, a number of those in which

the white men are treated—Americans and Spaniards. Both white men and black men are treated exactly alike, and their treatment is as good as that which could be obtained in our first-class hospitals at home. All the patients that I saw, with one or two exceptions, were laborers or other employees on the canal works and railways, most of them being colored men of the ordinary laborer stamp. Not only are the men carefully cared for whenever they apply for care, but so far as practicable a watch is kept to see that if they need it they are sent to the hospitals, whether they desire to go or not. From no responsible source did any complaint come to me as to the management of the hospital service, although occasionally a very ignorant West Indian negro when he is first brought into the hospital becomes frightened by the ordinary hospital routine.

Just at present the health showing on the Isthmus is remarkably good—so much better than in most sections of the United States that I do not believe that it can possibly continue at quite its present average. Thus, early in the present year a band of several hundred Spaniards were brought to the Isthmus as laborers, and additions to their number have been made from time to time; yet since their arrival in February last but one of those Spaniards thus brought over to work on the canal has died of disease, and he of typhoid fever. Two others were killed, one in a railroad accident, and one by a dynamite explosion. There has been for the last six

months a wellnigh steady decline in the death-rate for the population of the Zone, this being largely due to the decrease in deaths from pneumonia, which has been the most fatal disease on the Isthmus. In October there were ninety-nine deaths of every kind among the employees of the Isthmus. There were then on the rolls 5,500 whites, seven-eighths of them being Americans. Of these whites but two died of disease, and as it happened neither man was an American. Of the 6,000 white Americans, including some 1,200 women and children, not a single death has occurred in the past three months, whereas in an average city in the United States the number of deaths for a similar number of people in that time would have been about thirty from disease. This very remarkable showing can not of course permanently obtain, but it certainly goes to prove that if good care is taken the Isthmus is not a particularly unhealthy place. In October, of the 19,000 negroes on the roll, eighty-six died from disease; pneumonia being the most destructive disease, and malarial fever coming second. The difficulty of exercising a thorough supervision over the colored laborers is of course greater than is the case among the whites, and they are also less competent to take care of themselves, which accounts for the fact that their death-rate is so much higher than that of the whites, in spite of the fact that they have been used to similar climatic conditions. Even among the colored employees it will be seen that the death-rate is not high.

In Panama and Colon the death-rate has also been greatly reduced, this being directly due to the vigorous work of the special brigade of employees who have been inspecting houses where the stegomyia mosquito is to be found, and destroying its larvæ and breeding places, and doing similar work in exterminating the malarial mosquitoes—in short, in performing all kinds of hygienic labor. A little over a year ago all kinds of mosquitoes, including the two fatal species, were numerous about the Culebra cut. In this cut during last October every room of every house was carefully examined, and only two mosquitoes, neither of them of the two fatal species, were found. Unfaltering energy in inspection and in disinfecting, and in the work of draining and of clearing brush, are responsible for the change. I append Doctor Gorgas's report on the health conditions; also a letter from Surgeon-General Rixey to Doctor Gorgas. The Surgeon-General reported to me that the hygienic conditions on the Isthmus were about as good as, for instance, those in the Norfolk Navy Yard.

Corozal, some four miles from La Boca, was formerly one of the most unsanitary places on the Isthmus, probably the most unsanitary. There was a marsh with a pond in the middle. Doctor Gorgas had both the marsh and pond drained and the brush cleared off, so that now, when I went over the ground, it appeared like a smooth meadow intersected by drainage ditches. The breeding places and sheltering spots of the dangerous mosquitoes

had been completely destroyed. The result is that Corozal for the last six months (like La Boca, which formerly also had a very unsanitary record), shows one of the best sick rates in the Zone, having less than one per cent a week admitted to the hospital. At Corozal there is a big hotel filled with employees of the Isthmian Canal Commission, some of them with their wives and families. Yet this healthy and attractive spot was stigmatized as a "hog wallow" by one of the least scrupulous and most foolish of the professional scandalmongers who from time to time have written about the Commission's work.

The sanitation work in the cities of Panama and Colon has been just as important as in the Zone itself, and in many respects much more difficult; because it was necessary to deal with the already existing population, which naturally had scant sympathy with revolutionary changes, the value of which they were for a long time not able to perceive. In Colon the population consists largely of colored laborers who, having come over from the West Indies to work on the canal, abandon the work and either take to the brush or lie idle in Colon itself; thus peopling Colon with the least desirable among the imported laborers, for the good and steady men of course continue at the work. Yet astonishing progress has been made in both cities. In Panama ninety per cent of the streets that are to be paved at all are already paved with an excel-

lent brick pavement laid in heavy concrete, a few of the streets being still in process of paving. The sewer and water services in the city are of the most modern hygienic type, some of the service having just been completed.

In Colon the conditions are peculiar, and it is as regards Colon that most of the very bitter complaint has been made. Colon is built on a low coral island, covered at more or less shallow depths with vegetable accumulations or mould, which affords sustenance and strength to many varieties of low-lying tropical plants. One-half of the surface of the island is covered with water at high tide, the average height of the land being one and one-half feet above low tide. The slight undulations furnish shallow, natural reservoirs or fresh-water breeding places for every variety of mosquito, and the ground tends to be lowest in the middle. When the town was originally built no attempt was made to fill the low ground, either in the streets or on the building sites, so that the entire surface was practically a quagmire; when the quagmire became impassable, certain of the streets were crudely improved by filling especially bad mud holes with soft rock or other material. In September, 1905, a systematic effort was begun to formulate a general plan for the proper sanitation of the city; in February last temporary relief measures were taken, while in July the prosecution of the work was begun in good earnest. The results are already visible in the sewering, draining, guttering, and paving of the streets.

Some four months will be required before the work of sewerage and street improvement will be completed, but the progress already made is very marked. Ditches have been dug through the town, connecting the salt water on both sides, and into these the ponds, which have served as breeding places for the mosquitoes, are drained. These ditches have answered their purpose, for they are probably the chief cause of the astonishing diminution in the number of mosquitoes. More ditches of the kind are being constructed.

It was not practicable, with the force at the Commission's disposal, and in view of the need that the force should be used in the larger town of Panama, to begin this work before early last winter. Water mains were then laid in the town and water was furnished to the people early in March from a temporary reservoir. This reservoir proved to be of insufficient capacity before the end of the dry season, and the shortage was made up by hauling water over the Panama Railroad, so that there was at all times an ample supply of the very best water. Since that time the new reservoir back of Mount Hope has been practically completed. I visited this reservoir. It is a lake over a mile long and half a mile broad. It now carries some 500,000,000 gallons of first-class water. I forward herewith a photograph of this lake, together with certain other photographs of what I saw while I was on the Isthmus. Nothing but a cataclysm will hereafter render it neces-

sary in the dry season to haul water for the use of Colon and Cristobal.

One of the most amusing (as well as dishonest) attacks made upon the Commission was in connection with this reservoir. The writer in question usually confined himself to vague general mendacity; but in this case he specifically stated that there was no water in the vicinity fit for a reservoir (I drank it and it was excellent), and that this particular reservoir would never hold water anyway. Accompanying this message, as I have said above, is a photograph of the reservoir as I myself saw it, and as it has been in existence ever since the article in question was published. With typical American humor, the engineering corps at work at the reservoir have christened a large boat which is now used on the reservoir by the name of the individual who thus denied the possibility of the reservoir's existence.

I rode through the streets of Colon, seeing them at the height of the rainy season, after two days of almost unexampled downpour, when they were at their very worst. Taken as a whole, they were undoubtedly very bad; as bad as Pennsylvania avenue in Washington before Grant's Administration. Front street is already in thoroughly satisfactory shape however. Some of the side streets are also in good condition. In others the change in the streets is rapidly going on. Through three-fourths of the town it is now possible to walk, even

during the period of tremendous rain, in low shoes without wetting one's feet, owing to the rapidity with which the surface water is carried away in the ditches. In the remaining one-fourth of the streets the mud is very deep—about as deep as in the ordinary street of a low-lying prairie river town of the same size in the United States during early spring. All men to whom I spoke were a unit in saying that the conditions of the Colon streets were 100 per cent better than a year ago. The most superficial examination of the town shows the progress that has been made and is being made in macadamizing the streets. Complaint was made to me by an entirely reputable man as to the character of some of the material used for repairing certain streets. On investigation the complaint proved well founded, but it also appeared that the use of the material in question had been abandoned, the Commission after having tried it in one or two streets finding it not appropriate.

The result of the investigation of this honest complaint was typical of what occurred when I investigated most of the other honest complaints made to me. That is, where the complaints were not made wantonly or maliciously, they almost always proved due to failure to appreciate the fact that time was necessary in the creation and completion of this Titanic work in a tropic wilderness. It is impossible to avoid some mistakes in building a giant canal through jungle-covered mountains

and swamps, while at the same time sanitating tropic cities, and providing for the feeding and general care of from twenty to thirty thousand workers. The complaints brought to me, either of insufficient provision in caring for some of the laborers, or of failure to finish the pavements of Colon, or of failure to supply water, or of failure to build wooden sidewalks for the use of the laborers in the rainy season, on investigation proved, almost without exception, to be due merely to the utter inability of the Commission to do everything at once.

For instance, it was imperative that Panama, which had the highest death-rate and where the chance of a yellow fever epidemic was strongest, should be cared for first; yet most of the complaints as to the delay in taking care of Colon were due to the inability or unwillingness to appreciate this simple fact. Again, as the thousands of laborers are brought over and housed, it is not always possible at the outset to supply wooden walks and bath-houses, because other more vital necessities have to be met; and in consequence, while most of the settlements have good bath-houses, and, to a large extent at least, wooden walks, there are plenty of settlements where wooden walks have not yet been laid down, and I visited one where the bath-houses have not been provided. But in this very settlement the frames of the bath-houses are already up, and in every case the utmost effort is being made to provide the wooden walks. Of course, in some of the newest camps tents are used pending the

building of houses. Where possible, I think detached houses would be preferable to the semi-detached houses now in general use.

Care and forethought have been exercised by the Commission, and nothing has reflected more credit upon them than their refusal either to go ahead too fast or to be deterred by the fear of criticism from not going ahead fast enough. It is curious to note the fact that many of the most severe critics of the Commission criticise them for precisely opposite reasons, some complaining bitterly that the work is not in a more advanced condition, while the others complain that it has been rushed with such haste that there has been insufficient preparation for the hygiene and comfort of the employees. As a matter of fact, neither criticism is just. It would have been impossible to go quicker than the Commission has gone, for such quickness would have meant insufficient preparation. On the other hand, to refuse to do anything until every possible future contingency had been met would have caused wholly unwarranted delay. The right course to follow was exactly the course which has been followed. Every reasonable preparation was made in advance, the hygienic conditions in especial being made as nearly perfect as possible; while on the other hand there has been no timid refusal to push forward the work because of inability to anticipate every possible emergency, for of course, many defects can only

be shown by the working of the system in actual practice.

In addition to attending to the health of the employees, it is of course necessary to provide for policing the Zone. This is done by a police force which at present numbers over two hundred men, under Captain Shanton. About one-fifth of the men are white and the others black. In different places I questioned some twenty or thirty of these men, taking them at random. They were a fine set, physically and in discipline. With one exception, all the white men I questioned had served in the American Army, usually in the Philippines, and belonged to the best type of American soldier. Without exception the black policeman whom I questioned had served either in the British army or in the Jamaica or Barbados police. They were evidently contented, and were doing their work well. Where possible, the policemen are used to control people of their own color, but in any emergency no hesitation is felt in using them indiscriminately.

Inasmuch as so many both of the white and colored employees have brought their families with them, schools have been established, the school service being under Mr. O'Connor. For the white pupils white American teachers are employed; for the colored pupils there are also some white American teachers, one Spanish teacher, and one colored American teacher, most of them being colored teachers from Jamaica, Barbados, and St. Lucia.

The schoolrooms were good, and it was a pleasant thing to see the pride that the teachers were taking in their work and their pupils.

There seemed to me to be too many saloons in the Zone; but the new high-license law which goes into effect on January 1 next will probably close four-fifths of them. Resolute and successful efforts are being made to minimize and control the sale of liquor.

The cars on the passenger trains on the Isthmus are divided into first and second class, the difference being marked in the price of tickets. As a rule second-class passengers are colored and first-class passengers white; but in every train which I saw there were a number of white second-class passengers, and on two of them there were colored first-class passengers.

Next in importance to the problem of sanitation, and indeed now of equal importance, is the problem of securing and caring for the mechanics, laborers, and other employees who actually do the work on the canal and the railroad. This great task has been under the control of Mr. Jackson Smith, and on the whole has been well done. At present there are some 6,000 white employees and some 19,000 colored employees on the Isthmus. I went over the different places where the different kinds of employees were working; I think I saw representatives of every type both at their work and in their homes; and I conversed with probably a couple

of hundred of them all told, choosing them at random from every class and including those who came especially to present certain grievances. I found that those who did not come specifically to present grievances almost invariably expressed far greater content and satisfaction with the conditions than did those who called to make complaint.

Nearly 5,000 of the white employees had come from the United States. No man can see these young, vigorous men energetically doing their duty without a thrill of pride in them as Americans. They represent on the average a high class. Doubtless to Congress the wages paid them will seem high, but as a matter of fact the only general complaint which I found had any real basis among the complaints made to me upon the Isthmus was that, owing to the peculiar surroundings, the cost of living, and the distance from home, the wages were really not as high as they should be. In fact, almost every man I spoke to felt that he ought to be receiving more money—a view, however, which the average man who stays at home in the United States probably likewise holds as regards himself. I append figures of the wages paid, so that the Congress can judge the matter for itself. Later, I shall confer on the subject with certain representative labor men here in the United States, as well as going over with Mr. Stevens the comparative wages paid on the Zone and at home; and I may then communicate my findings to the canal committees of the two Houses.

The white Americans are employed, some of them in office work, but the majority in handling the great steam shovels, as engineers and conductors on the dirt trains, as machinists in the great repair shops, as carpenters and timekeepers, superintendents, and foremen of divisions and of gangs, and so on and so on. Many of them have brought down their wives and families; and the children when not in school are running about and behaving precisely as the American small boy and girl behave at home. The bachelors among the employees live, sometimes in small separate houses, sometimes in large houses; quarters being furnished free to all the men, married and unmarried. Usually the bachelors sleep two in a room, as they would do in this country. I found a few cases where three were in a room; and I was told of, although I did not see, large rooms in which four were sleeping; for it is not possible in what is really a vast system of construction camps always to provide in advance as ample house-room as the Commission intend later to give. In one case, where the house was an old French house with a leak in the roof, I did not think the accommodations were good. But in every other case among the scores of houses I entered at random, the accommodations were good; every room was neat and clean, usually having books, magazines, and small ornaments; and in short just such a room as a self-respecting craftsman would be glad to live in at home. The quarters for the married people were even better. Doubtless there must be

here and there a married couple who, with or without reason, are not contented with their house on the Isthmus; but I never happened to strike such a couple. The wives of the steam-shovel men, engineers, machinists, and carpenters into whose houses I went all with one accord expressed their pleasure in their home life and surroundings. Indeed I do not think they could have done otherwise. The houses themselves were excellent—bathroom, sitting-room, piazza, and bedrooms being all that could be desired. In every house which I happened to enter the mistress of the home was evidently a good American housewife and helpmeet, who had given to the home life that touch of attractiveness which, of course, the bachelor quarters neither had nor could have.

The housewives purchase their supplies directly, or through their husbands, from the commissary stores of the Commission. All to whom I spoke agreed that the supplies were excellent, and all but two stated that there was no complaint to be made; these two complained that the prices were excessive as compared to the prices in the States. On investigation I did not feel that this complaint was well founded. The married men ate at home. The unmarried men sometimes ate at private boarding-houses, or private messes, but more often, judging by the answers of those whom I questioned, at the Government canteens or hotels where the meal costs 30 cents to each employee. This 30-cent meal struck me as being as good a meal as we get in

the United States at the ordinary hotel in which a 50-cent meal is provided. Three-fourths of the men whom I questioned stated that the meals furnished at these Government hotels were good, the remaining one-fourth that they were not good. I myself took dinner at the La Boca Government hotel, no warning whatever having been given of my coming. There were two rooms, as generally in these hotels. In one the employees were allowed to dine without their coats, while in the other they had to put them on. The 30-cent meal included soup, native beef (which was good), mashed potatoes, peas, beets, chili con carne, plum pudding, tea, coffee—each man having as much of each dish as he desired. On the table there was a bottle of liquid quinine tonic which two-thirds of the guests, as I was informed, used every day. There were neat tablecloths and napkins. The men, who were taking the meal at or about the same time, included railroad men, machinists, shipwrights, and members of the office force. The rooms were clean, comfortable, and airy, with mosquito screens around the outer piazza. I was informed by some of those present that this hotel, and also the other similar hotels, were every Saturday night turned into clubhouses where the American officials, the school-teachers, and various employees, appeared, bringing their wives, there being dancing and singing. There was a piano in the room, which I was informed was used for the music on these occasions. My meal was excellent, and two newspaper

correspondents who had been on the Isthmus several days informed me that it was precisely like the meals they had been getting elsewhere at other Government hotels. One of the employees was a cousin of one of the Secret Service men who was with me, and he stated that the meals had always been good, but that after a time he grew tired of them because they seemed so much alike.

I came to the conclusion that, speaking generally, there was no warrant for complaint about the food. Doubtless it grows monotonous after a while. Any man accustomed to handling large masses of men knows that some of them, even though otherwise very good men, are sure to grumble about something, and usually about their food. Schoolboys, college boys, and boarders in boarding-houses make similar complaints; so do soldiers and sailors. On this very trip, on one of the warships, a seaman came to complain to the second watch officer about the quality of the cocoa at the seamen's mess, saying that it was not sweet enough; it was pointed out to him that there was sugar on the table and he could always put it in, to which he responded that that was the cook's business and not his! I think that the complaint as to the food on the Isthmus has but little more foundation than that of the sailor in question. Moreover, I was given to understand that one real cause of complaint was that at the Government hotels no liquor is served, and some of the drinking men, therefore,

refused to go to them. The number of men using the Government hotels is steadily increasing.

Of the nineteen or twenty thousand day laborers employed on the canal, a few hundred are Spaniards. These do excellent work. Their foremen told me that they did twice as well as the West India laborers. They keep healthy and no difficulty is experienced with them in any way. Some Italian laborers are also employed in connection with the drilling. As might be expected, with labor as high-priced as at present in the United States, it has not so far proved practicable to get any ordinary laborers from the United States. The American wage-workers on the Isthmus are the highly paid skilled mechanics of the types mentioned previously. A steady effort is being made to secure Italians, and especially to procure more Spaniards, because of the very satisfactory results that have come from their employment; and their numbers will be increased as far as possible. It has not proved possible, however, to get them in anything like the numbers needed for the work, and from present appearances we shall in the main have to rely, for the ordinary unskilled work, partly upon colored laborers from the West Indies, partly upon Chinese labor. It certainly ought to be unnecessary to point out that the American working man in the United States has no concern whatever in the question as to whether the rough work on the Isthmus, which is performed by aliens in any event, is done

by aliens from one country with a black skin or by aliens from another country with a yellow skin. Our business is to dig the canal as efficiently and as quickly as possible; provided always that nothing is done that is inhumane to any laborers, and nothing that interferes with the wages of or lowers the standard of living of our own workmen. Having in view this principle, I have arranged to try several thousand Chinese laborers. This is desirable both because we must try to find out what laborers are most efficient, and, furthermore, because we should not leave ourselves at the mercy of any one type of foreign labor. At present the great bulk of the unskilled labor on the Isthmus is done by West India negroes, chiefly from Jamaica, Barbados, and the other English possessions. One of the governors of the lands in question has shown an unfriendly disposition to our work, and has thrown obstacles in the way of our getting the labor needed; and it is highly undesirable to give any outsiders the impression, however ill founded, that they are indispensable and can dictate terms to us.

The West India laborers are fairly, but only fairly, satisfactory. Some of the men do very well indeed; the better class, who are to be found as foremen, as skilled mechanics, as policemen, are good men; and many of the ordinary day laborers are also good. But thousands of those who are brought over under contract (at our expense) go off into the jungle to live, or loaf around Colon,

or work so badly after the first three or four days as to cause a serious diminution of the amount of labor performed on Friday and Saturday of each week. I questioned many of these Jamaica laborers as to the conditions of their work and what, if any, changes they wished. I received many complaints from them, but as regards most of these complaints they themselves contradicted one another. In all cases where the complaint was as to their treatment by any individual it proved on examination that this individual was himself a West India man of color, either a policeman, a storekeeper, or an assistant storekeeper. Doubtless there must be many complaints against Americans; but those to whom I spoke did not happen to make any such complaint to me. There was no complaint of the housing; I saw but one set of quarters for colored laborers which I thought poor, and this was in an old French house. The barracks for unmarried men are roomy, well ventilated, and clean, with canvas bunks for each man, and a kind of false attic at the top, where the trunks and other belongings of the different men are kept. The clothes are hung on clotheslines, nothing being allowed to be kept on the floor. In each of these big rooms there were tables and lamps, and usually a few books or papers, and in almost every room there was a Bible; the books being the property of the laborers themselves. The cleanliness of the quarters is secured by daily inspection. The quarters for the married negro laborers were good. They were neatly kept,

and in almost every case the men living in them, whose wives or daughters did the cooking for them, were far better satisfied and of a higher grade than the ordinary bachelor negroes. Not only were the quarters in which these negro laborers were living much superior to those in which I am informed they live at home, but they were much superior to the huts to be seen in the jungles of Panama itself, beside the railroad tracks, in which the lower class of native Panamans live, as well as the negro workmen when they leave the employ of the canal and go into the jungles. A single glance at the two sets of buildings is enough to show the great superiority in point of comfort, cleanliness, and healthfulness of the Government houses as compared with the native houses.

The negroes generally do their own cooking, the bachelors cooking in sheds provided by the Government and using their own pots. In the different camps there was a wide variation in the character of these cooking sheds. In some, where the camps were completed, the kitchen or cooking sheds, as well as the bathrooms and water-closets, were all in excellent trim, while there were board sidewalks leading from building to building. In other camps the kitchens or cook sheds had not been floored, and the sidewalks had not been put down, while in one camp the bath-houses were not yet up. In each case, however, every effort was being made to hurry on the construction, and I do not believe that the

delays had been greater than were inevitable in such work. The laborers are accustomed to do their own cooking; but there was much complaint, especially among the bachelors, as to the quantity, and some as to the quality, of the food they got from the commissary department, especially as regards yams. On the other hand, the married men and their wives, and the more advanced among the bachelors, almost invariably expressed themselves as entirely satisfied with their treatment at the commissary stores; except that they stated that they generally could not get yams there, and had to purchase them outside. The chief complaint was that the prices were too high. It is unavoidable that the prices should be higher than in their own homes; and after careful investigation I came to the conclusion that the chief trouble lay in the fact that the yams, plantains, and the like are rather perishable food, and are very bulky compared to the amount of nourishment they contain, so that it is costly to import them in large quantities and difficult to keep them. Nevertheless, I felt that an effort should be made to secure them a more ample supply of their favorite food, and so directed; and I believe that ultimately the Government must itself feed them. I am having this matter looked into.

The superintendent having immediate charge of one gang of men at the Colon reservoir stated that he endeavored to get them to substitute beans and other nourishing food for the stringy, watery yams,

because the men keep their strength and health better on the more nourishing food. Inasmuch, however, as they are accustomed to yams it is difficult to get them to eat the more strengthening food, and some time elapses before they grow accustomed to it. At this reservoir there has been a curious experience. It is off in the jungle by itself at the end of a couple of miles of a little toy railroad. In order to get the laborers there, they were given free food (and of course free lodgings); and yet it proved difficult to keep them, because they wished to be where they could reach the dramshop and places of amusement.

I was struck by the superior comfort and respectability of the lives of the married men. It would, in my opinion, be a most admirable thing if a much larger number of the men had their wives, for with their advent all complaints about the food and cooking are almost sure to cease.

I had an interview with Mr. Mallet, the British consul, to find out if there was any just cause for complaint as to the treatment of the West India negroes. He informed me most emphatically that there was not, and authorized me to give his statement publicity. He said that not only was the condition of the laborers far better than had been the case under the old French Company, but that year by year the condition was improving under our own régime. He stated that complaints were continually brought to him, and that he always investigated them; and that for the last six months he had failed

to find a single complaint of a serious nature that contained any justification whatever.

One of the greatest needs at present is to provide amusements both for the white men and the black. The Young Men's Christian Association is trying to do good work and should be in every way encouraged. But the Government should do the main work. I have specifically called the attention of the Commission to this matter, and something has been accomplished already. Anything done for the welfare of the men adds to their efficiency, and money devoted to that purpose is therefore properly to be considered as spent in building the canal. It is imperatively necessary to provide ample recreation and amusement if the men are to be kept well and healthy. I call the special attention of Congress to this need.

This gathering, distributing, and caring for the great force of laborers is one of the giant features of the work. That friction will from time to time occur in connection therewith is inevitable. The astonishing thing is that the work has been performed so well and that the machinery runs so smoothly. From my own experience I am able to say that more care had been exercised in housing, feeding, and generally paying heed to the needs of the skilled mechanics and ordinary laborers in the work on this canal than is the case in the construction of new railroads or in any other similar private or public work in the United States proper; and it is the testimony of all people competent to speak

that on no other similar work anywhere in the Tropics—indeed, as far as I know, anywhere else —has there been such forethought and such success achieved in providing for the needs of the men who do the work.

I have now dealt with the hygienic conditions which make it possible to employ a great force of laborers, and with the task of gathering, housing, and feeding these laborers. There remains to consider the actual work which has to be done; the work because of which these laborers are gathered together—the work of constructing the canal. This is under the direct control of the Chief Engineer, Mr. Stevens, who has already shown admirable results, and whom we can safely trust to achieve similar results in the future.

Our people found on the Isthmus a certain amount of old French material and equipment which could be used. Some of it, in addition, could be sold as scrap iron. Some could be used for furnishing the foundation for filling in. For much no possible use could be devised that would not cost more than it would bring in.

The work is now going on with a vigor and efficiency pleasant to witness. The three big problems of the canal are the La Boca dams, the Gatun dam, and the Culebra cut. The Culebra cut must be made, anyhow; but of course changes as to the dams, or at least as to the locks adjacent to the dams, may still occur. The La Boca dams offer

no particular problem, the bottom material being so good that there is a practical certainty, not merely as to what can be achieved, but as to the time of achievement. The Gatun dam offers the most serious problem which we have to solve; and yet the ablest men on the Isthmus believe that this problem is certain of solution along the lines proposed; although, of course, it necessitates great toil, energy, and intelligence, and although, equally of course, there will be some little risk in connection with the work. If the huge earth dam now contemplated is thrown across from one foot-hill to the other we will have what is practically a low, broad, mountain ridge behind which will rise the inland lake. This artificial mountain will probably show less seepage, that is, will have greater restraining capacity, than the average natural mountain range. The exact locality of the locks at this dam—as at the other dams—is now being determined. In April next Secretary Taft, with three of the ablest engineers of the country—Messrs. Noble, Stearns, and Ripley —will visit the Isthmus, and the three engineers will make the final and conclusive examinations as to the exact site for each lock. Meanwhile the work is going ahead without a break.

The Culebra cut does not offer such great risks; that is, the damage liable to occur from occasional land slips will not represent what may be called major disasters. The work will merely call for intelligence, perseverance, and executive capacity. It is, however, the work upon which most labor will

have to be spent. The dams will be composed of the earth taken out of the cut and very possibly the building of the locks and dams will take even longer than the cutting in Culebra itself.

The main work is now being done in the Culebra cut. It was striking and impressive to see the huge steam shovels in full play, the dumping trains carrying away the rock and earth they dislodged. The implements of French excavating machinery, which often stand a little way from the line of work, though of excellent construction, look like the veriest toys when compared with these new steam shovels, just as the French dumping cars seem like toy cars when compared with the long trains of huge cars, dumped by steam plows, which are now in use. This represents the enormous advance that has been made in machinery during the past quarter of a century. No doubt a quarter of a century hence this new machinery, of which we are now so proud, will similarly seem out of date, but it is certainly serving its purpose well now. The old French cars had to be entirely discarded. We still have in use a few of the more modern, but not most modern, cars, which hold but twelve yards of earth. They can be employed on certain lines with sharp curves. But the recent cars hold from twenty-five to thirty yards apiece, and instead of the old clumsy methods of unloading them, a steam plow is drawn from end to end of the whole vestibuled train, thus immensely economizing labor. In the rainy season

the steam shovels can do but little in dirt, but they work steadily in rock and in the harder ground. There were some twenty-five at work during the time I was on the Isthmus, and their tremendous power and efficiency were most impressive.

As soon as the type of canal was decided this work began in good earnest. The rainy season will shortly be over and then there will be an immense increase in the amount taken out; but even during the last three months, in the rainy season, steady progress is shown by the figures: In August, 242,000 cubic yards; in September, 291,000 cubic yards, and in October, 325,000 cubic yards. In October new records were established for the output of individual shovels as well as for the tonnage haul of individual locomotives. I hope to see the growth of a healthy spirit of emulation between the different shovel and locomotive crews, just such a spirit as has grown on our battleships between the different gun crews in matters of marksmanship. Passing through the cut, the amount of new work can be seen at a glance. In one place the entire side of a hill had been taken out recently by twenty-seven tons of dynamite, which were exploded at one blast. At another place I was given a Presidential salute of twenty-one charges of dynamite. On the top notch of the Culebra cut the prism is now as wide as it will be; all told, the canal bed at this point has now been sunk about 200 feet below what it originally was. It will have to be sunk

about 130 feet farther. Throughout the cut the drilling, blasting, shoveling, and hauling are going on with constantly increasing energy, the huge shovels being pressed up, as if they were mountain howitzers, into the most unlikely looking places, where they eat their way into the hillsides.

The most advanced methods, not only in construction, but in railroad management, have been applied in the Zone, with corresponding economies in time and cost. This has been shown in the handling of the tonnage from ships into cars, and from cars into ships on the Panama Railroad, where, thanks largely to the efficiency of General Manager Bierd, the saving in time and cost has been noteworthy. My examination tended to show that some of the departments had (doubtless necessarily) become overdeveloped, and could now be reduced or subordinated without impairment of efficiency and with a saving of cost. The Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Shonts, has all matters of this kind constantly in view, and is now reorganizing the government of the Zone, so as to make the form of administration both more flexible and less expensive, subordinating everything to direct efficiency with a view to the work of the Canal Commission. From time to time changes of this kind will undoubtedly have to be made, for it must be remembered that in this giant work of construction, it is continually necessary to develop departments or bureaus which are vital for the time being, but

which soon become useless; just as it will be continually necessary to put up buildings, and even to erect towns, which in ten years will once more give place to jungle, or will then be at the bottom of the great lakes at the ends of the canal.

It is not only natural, but inevitable, that a work as gigantic as this which has been undertaken on the Isthmus should arouse every species of hostility and criticism. The conditions are so new and so trying, and the work so vast, that it would be absolutely out of the question that mistakes should not be made. Checks will occur. Unforeseen difficulties will arise. From time to time seemingly well-settled plans will have to be changed. At present 25,000 men are engaged on the task. After a while the number will be doubled. In such a multitude it is inevitable that there should be here and there a scoundrel. Very many of the poorer class of laborers lack the mental development to protect themselves against either the rascality of others or their own folly, and it is not possible for human wisdom to devise a plan by which they can invariably be protected. In a place which has been for ages a byword for unhealthfulness, and with so large a congregation of strangers suddenly put down and set to hard work there will now and then be outbreaks of disease. There will now and then be shortcomings in administration; there will be unlooked-for accidents to delay the excavation of

the cut or the building of the dams and locks. Each such incident will be entirely natural, and, even though serious, no one of them will mean more than a little extra delay or trouble. Yet each, when discovered by sensation mongers and retailed to timid folk of little faith, will serve as an excuse for the belief that the whole work is being badly managed. Experiments will continually be tried in housing, in hygiene, in street repairing, in dredging, and in digging earth and rock. Now and then an experiment will be a failure; and among those who hear of it a certain proportion of doubting Thomases will at once believe that the whole work is a failure. Doubtless here and there some minor rascality will be uncovered; but as to this, I have to say that after the most painstaking inquiry I have been unable to find a single reputable person who had so much as heard of any serious accusations affecting the honesty of the Commission or of any responsible officer under it. I append a letter dealing with the most serious charge, that of the ownership of lots in Colon; the charge was not advanced by a reputable man, and is utterly baseless. It is not too much to say that the whole atmosphere of the Commission breathes honesty as it breathes efficiency and energy. Above all, the work has been kept absolutely clear of politics. I have never heard even a suggestion of spoils politics in connection with it.

I have investigated every complaint brought to me for which there seemed to be any shadow of

foundation. In two or three cases, all of which I have indicated in the course of this message, I came to the conclusion that there was foundation for the complaint, and that the methods of the Commission in the respect complained of could be bettered. In the other instances the complaints proved absolutely baseless, save in two or three instances where they referred to mistakes which the Commission had already itself found out and corrected.

So much for honest criticism. There remains an immense amount of as reckless slander as has ever been published. Where the slanderers are of foreign origin I have no concern with them. Where they are Americans, I feel for them the heartiest contempt and indignation; because, in a spirit of wanton dishonesty and malice, they are trying to interfere with, and hamper the execution of, the greatest work of the kind ever attempted, and are seeking to bring to naught the efforts of their countrymen to put to the credit of America one of the giant feats of the ages. The outrageous accusations of these slanderers constitute a gross libel upon a body of public servants who, for trained intelligence, expert ability, high character, and devotion to duty, have never been excelled anywhere. There is not a man among those directing the work on the Isthmus who has obtained his position on any other basis than merit alone, and not one who has used his position in any way for his own personal or pecuniary advantage.

After most careful consideration we have decided to let out most of the work by contract, if we can come to satisfactory terms with the contractors. The whole work is of a kind suited to the peculiar genius of our people; and our people have developed the type of contractor best fitted to grapple with it. It is of course much better to do the work in large part by contract than to do it all by the Government, provided it is possible on the one hand to secure to the contractor a sufficient remuneration to make it worth while for responsible contractors of the best kind to undertake the work; and provided on the other hand it can be done on terms which will not give an excessive profit to the contractor at the expense of the Government. After much consideration the plan already promulgated by the Secretary of War was adopted. This plan in its essential features was drafted, after careful and thorough study and consideration, by the Chief Engineer, Mr. Stevens, who, while in the employment of Mr. Hill, the president of the Great Northern Railroad, had personal experience of this very type of contract. Mr. Stevens then submitted the plan to the Chairman of the Commission, Mr. Shonts, who went carefully over it with Mr. Rogers, the legal adviser of the Commission, to see that all legal difficulties were met. He then submitted copies of the plan to both Secretary Taft and myself. Secretary Taft submitted it to some of the best counsel at the New York bar, and afterward I went over it very carefully with Mr. Taft

and Mr. Shonts, and we laid the plan in its general features before Mr. Root. My conclusion is that it combines the maximum of advantage with the minimum of disadvantage. Under it a premium will be put upon the speedy and economical construction of the canal, and a penalty imposed on delay and waste. The plan as promulgated is tentative; doubtless it will have to be changed in some respects before we can come to a satisfactory agreement with responsible contractors—perhaps even after the bids have been received; and of course it is possible that we can not come to an agreement, in which case the Government will do the work itself. Meanwhile the work on the Isthmus is progressing steadily and without any let-up.

A seven-headed commission is of course a clumsy executive instrument. We should have but one commissioner, with such heads of departments and other officers under him as we may find necessary. We should be expressly permitted to employ the best engineers in the country as consulting engineers.

I accompany this paper with a map showing substantially what the canal will be like when it is finished. When the Culebra cut has been made and the dams built (if they are built as at present proposed) there will then be at both the Pacific and Atlantic ends of the canal, two great fresh-water lakes, connected by a broad channel running at the bottom of a ravine, across the backbone of the

Western Hemisphere. Those best informed believe that the work will be completed in about eight years; but it is never safe to prophesy about such a work as this, especially in the Tropics.

I am informed that representatives of the commercial clubs of four cities—Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, and St. Louis—the membership of which includes most of the leading business men of those cities, expect to visit the Isthmus for the purpose of examining the work of construction of the canal. I am glad to hear it, and I shall direct that every facility be given them to see all that is to be seen in the work which the Government is doing. Such interest as a visit like this would indicate will have a good effect upon the men who are doing the work, on one hand, while on the other hand it will offer as witnesses of the exact conditions men whose experience as business men and whose impartiality will make the result of their observations of value to the country as a whole.

Of the success of the enterprise I am as well convinced as one can be of any enterprise that is human. It is a stupendous work upon which our fellow-countrymen are engaged down there on the Isthmus, and while we should hold them to a strict accountability for the way in which they perform it, we should yet recognize, with frank generosity, the epic nature of the task on which they are engaged and its world-wide importance. They are doing something which will redound immeasurably

to the credit of America, which will benefit all the world, and which will last for ages to come. Under Mr. Shonts and Mr. Stevens and Doctor Gorgas this work has started with every omen of good fortune. They and their worthy associates, from the highest to the lowest, are entitled to the same credit that we should give to the picked men of a victorious army; for this conquest of peace will, in its great and far-reaching effect, stand as among the very greatest conquests, whether of peace or of war, which have ever been won by any of the peoples of mankind. A badge is to be given to every American citizen who for a specified time has taken part in this work; for participation in it will hereafter be held to reflect honor upon the man participating just as it reflects honor upon a soldier to have belonged to a mighty army in a great war for righteousness. Our fellow-countrymen on the Isthmus are working for our interest and for the national renown in the same spirit and with the same efficiency that the men of the Army and Navy work in time of war. It behooves us in our turn to do all we can to hold up their hands and to aid them in every way to bring their great work to a triumphant conclusion.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSE OF CONGRESS, DECEMBER 18, 1906

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I enclose herewith for your information the final report made to me personally by Secretary Metcalf

on the situation affecting the Japanese in San Francisco. The report deals with three matters of controversy—first, the exclusion of the Japanese children from the San Francisco schools; second, the boycotting of Japanese restaurants, and, third, acts of violence committed against the Japanese.

As to the first matter, I call your especial attention to the very small number of Japanese children who attend school, to the testimony as to the brightness, cleanliness, and good behavior of these Japanese children in the schools, and to the fact that, owing to their being scattered throughout the city, the requirement for them all to go to one special school is impossible of fulfilment and means that they can not have school facilities. Let me point out further that there would be no objection whatever to excluding from the schools any Japanese on the score of age. It is obviously not desirable that young men should go to school with children. The only point is the exclusion of the children themselves. The number of Japanese children attending the public schools in San Francisco was very small. The Government has already directed that suit be brought to test the constitutionality of the act in question; but my very earnest hope is that suit will not be necessary, and that as a matter of comity the citizens of San Francisco will refuse to deprive these young Japanese children of education and will permit them to go to the schools.

The question as to the violence against the Japanese is most admirably put by Secretary Metcalf,

and I have nothing to add to his statement. I am entirely confident that, as Secretary Metcalf says, the overwhelming sentiment of the State of California is for law and order and for the protection of the Japanese in their persons and property. Both the chief of police and the acting mayor of San Francisco assured Secretary Metcalf that everything possible would be done to protect the Japanese in the city. I authorized and directed Secretary Metcalf to state that if there was failure to protect persons and property, then the entire power of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution would be used promptly and vigorously to enforce the observance of our treaty, the supreme law of the land, which treaty guaranteed to Japanese residents everywhere in the Union full and perfect protection for their persons and property; and to this end everything in my power would be done, and all the forces of the United States, both civil and military, which I could lawfully employ, would be employed. I call especial attention to the concluding sentence of Secretary Metcalf's report of November 26, 1906.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, DECEMBER 19, 1906

To the Senate:

In response to Senate resolution of December 6 addressed to me, and to the two Senate resolutions addressed to him, the Secretary of War has, by my direction, submitted to me a report which I here-

with send to the Senate, together with several documents, including a letter of General Nettleton and memoranda as to precedents for the summary discharge or mustering out of regiments or companies, some or all of the members of which had been guilty of misconduct.

I ordered the discharge of nearly all the members of Companies B, C, and D of the Twenty-fifth Infantry by name, in the exercise of my constitutional power, and in pursuance of what, after full consideration, I found to be my constitutional duty as Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army. I am glad to avail myself of the opportunity afforded by these resolutions to lay before the Senate the following facts as to the murderous conduct of certain members of the companies in question and as to the conspiracy by which many of the other members of these companies saved the criminals from justice, to the disgrace of the United States uniform.

I call your attention to the accompanying reports of Major Augustus P. Blocksom, of Lieutenant-Colonel Leonard A. Lovering, and of Brigadier-General Ernest A. Garlington, the Inspector-General of the United States Army, of their investigation into the conduct of the troops in question. An effort has been made to discredit the fairness of the investigation into the conduct of these colored troops by pointing out that General Garlington is a Southerner. Precisely the same action would have been taken had the troops been white—indeed, the

discharge would probably have been made in more summary fashion. General Garlington is a native of South Carolina; Lieutenant-Colonel Lovering is a native of New Hampshire; Major Blocksom is a native of Ohio. As it happens, the disclosure of the guilt of the troops was made in the report of the officer who comes from Ohio, and the efforts of the officer who comes from South Carolina were confined to the endeavor to shield the innocent men of the companies in question, if any such there were, by securing information which would enable us adequately to punish the guilty. But I wish it distinctly understood that the fact of the birthplace of either officer is one which I absolutely refuse to consider. The standard of professional honor and of loyalty to the flag and the service is the same for all officers and all enlisted men of the United States Army, and I resent with the keenest indignation any effort to draw any line among them based upon birthplace, creed, or any other consideration of the kind. I should put the same entire faith in these reports if it had happened that they were all made by men coming from some one State, whether in the South or the North, the East or the West, as I now do, when, as it happens, they were made by officers born in different States.

Major Blocksom's report is most careful, is based upon the testimony of scores of eyewitnesses—testimony which conflicted only in non-essentials and which established the essential facts beyond chance of successful contradiction. Not only has no suc-

cessful effort been made to traverse his findings in any essential particular, but, as a matter of fact, every trustworthy report from outsiders amply corroborates them, by far the best of these outside reports being that of General A. B. Nettleton, made in a letter to the Secretary of War, which I herewith append; General Nettleton being an ex-Union soldier, a consistent friend of the colored man throughout his life, a lifelong Republican, a citizen of Illinois, and Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Harrison.

It appears that in Brownsville, the city immediately beside which Fort Brown is situated, there had been considerable feeling between the citizens and the colored troops of the garrison companies. Difficulties had occurred, there being a conflict of evidence as to whether the citizens or the colored troops were to blame. My impression is that, as a matter of fact, in these difficulties there was blame attached to both sides; but this is a wholly unimportant matter for our present purpose, as nothing that occurred offered in any shape or way an excuse or justification for the atrocious conduct of the troops when, in lawless and murderous spirit, and under cover of the night, they made their attack upon the citizens.

The attack was made near midnight on August 13. The following facts as to this attack are made clear by Major Blocksom's investigation and have not been, and, in my judgment, can not be, successfully controverted. From nine to fifteen or twenty

of the colored soldiers took part in the attack. They leaped over the walls from the barracks and hurried through the town. They shot at whomever they saw moving, and they shot into houses where they saw lights. In some of these houses there were women and children, as the would-be murderers must have known. In one house in which there were two women and five children, some ten shots went through at a height of about four and one-half feet above the floor, one putting out the lamp upon the table. The lieutenant of police of the town heard the firing and rode toward it. He met the raiders, who, as he stated, were about fifteen colored soldiers. They instantly started firing upon him. He turned and rode off, and they continued firing upon him until they had killed his horse. They shot him in the right arm (it was afterward amputated above the elbow). A number of shots were also fired at two other policemen. The raiders fired several times into a hotel, some of the shots being aimed at a guest sitting by a window. They shot into a saloon, killing the bartender and wounding another man. At the same time other raiders fired into another house in which women and children were sleeping, two of the shots going through the mosquito bar over the bed in which the mistress of the house and her two children were lying. Several other houses were struck by bullets. It was at night, and the streets of the town are poorly lighted, so that none of the individual raiders were recognized; but the evidence of many witnesses of all

classes was conclusive to the effect that the raiders were negro soldiers. The shattered bullets, shells, and clips of the Government rifles, which were found on the ground, are merely corroborative. So are the bullet holes in the houses; some of which it appears must, from the direction, have been fired from the fort just at the moment when the soldiers left it. Not a bullet hole appears in any of the structures of the fort.

The townspeople were completely surprised by the unprovoked and murderous savagery of the attack. The soldiers were the aggressors from start to finish. They met with no substantial resistance, and one and all who took part in that raid stand as deliberate murderers, who did murder one man, who tried to murder others, and who tried to murder women and children. The act was one of horrible atrocity, and so far as I am aware, unparalleled for infamy in the annals of the United States Army.

The white officers of the companies were completely taken by surprise, and at first evidently believed that the firing meant that the townspeople were attacking the soldiers. It was not until two or three o'clock in the morning that any of them became aware of the truth. I have directed a careful investigation into the conduct of the officers, to see if any of them were blameworthy, and I have approved the recommendation of the War Department that two be brought before a court-martial.

As to the non-commissioned officers and enlisted

men, there can be no doubt whatever that many were necessarily privy, after if not before the attack, to the conduct of those who took actual part in this murderous riot. I refer to Major Blocksom's report for proof of the fact that certainly some and probably all of the non-commissioned officers in charge of quarters who were responsible for the gun-racks and had keys thereto in their personal possession knew what men were engaged in the attack.

Major Penrose, in command of the post, in his letter (included in the Appendix) gives the reasons why he was reluctantly convinced that some of the men under him—as he thinks, from seven to ten—got their rifles, slipped out of quarters to do the shooting, and returned to the barracks without being discovered, the shooting all occurring within two and a half short blocks of the barracks. It was possible for the raiders to go from the fort to the farthest point of firing and return in less than ten minutes, for the distance did not exceed 350 yards.

Such are the facts of this case. General Nettleton, in his letter herewith appended, states that next door to where he is writing in Brownsville is a small cottage where a children's party had just broken up before the house was riddled by United States bullets, fired by United States troops, from United States Springfield rifles, at close range, with the purpose of killing or maiming the inmates, including the parents and children who were still in the well-lighted house, and whose escape from death under such circumstances was astonishing. He

states that on another street he daily looks upon fresh bullet scars where a volley from similar Government rifles was fired into the side and windows of a hotel occupied at the time by sleeping or frightened guests from abroad who could not possibly have given any offence to the assailants. He writes that the chief of the Brownsville police is again on duty from hospital, and carries an empty sleeve because he was shot by Federal soldiers from the adjacent garrison in the course of their murderous foray; and not far away is the fresh grave of an unoffending citizen of the place, a boy in years, who was wantonly shot down by these United States soldiers while unarmed and attempting to escape.

The effort to confute this testimony so far has consisted in the assertion or implication that the townspeople shot one another in order to discredit the soldiers—an absurdity too gross to need discussion, and unsupported by a shred of evidence. There is no question as to the murder and the attempted murders; there is no question that some of the soldiers were guilty thereof; there is no question that many of their comrades privy to the deed have combined to shelter the criminals from justice. These comrades of the murderers, by their own action, have rendered it necessary either to leave all the men, including the murderers, in the Army, or to turn them all out; and under such circumstances there was no alternative, for the usefulness of the Army would be at an end were we to permit such an outrage to be committed with impunity.

In short, the evidence proves conclusively that a number of the soldiers engaged in a deliberate and concerted attack, as cold-blooded as it was cowardly; the purpose being to terrorize the community, and to kill or injure men, women, and children in their homes and beds or on the streets, and this at an hour of the night when concerted or effective resistance or defence was out of the question, and when detection by identification of the criminals in the United States uniform was wellnigh impossible. So much for the original crime. A blacker never stained the annals of our Army. It has been supplemented by another, only less black, in the shape of a successful conspiracy of silence for the purpose of shielding those who took part in the original conspiracy of murder. These soldiers were not schoolboys on a frolic. They were full-grown men, in the uniform of the United States Army, armed with deadly weapons, sworn to uphold the laws of the United States, and under every obligation of oath and honor not merely to refrain from criminality, but with the sturdiest rigor to hunt down criminality; and the crime they committed or connived at was murder. They perverted the power put into their hands to sustain the law into the most deadly violation of the law. The non-commissioned officers are primarily responsible for the discipline and good conduct of the men; they are appointed to their positions for the very purpose of preserving this discipline and good conduct, and of detecting and securing the punishment of every enlisted man who

does what is wrong. They fill, with reference to the discipline, a part that the commissioned officers are of course unable to fill, although the ultimate responsibility for the discipline can never be shifted from the shoulders of the latter. Under any ordinary circumstances the first duty of the non-commissioned officers, as of the commissioned officers, is to train the private in the ranks so that he may be an efficient fighting man against a foreign foe. But there is an even higher duty, so obvious that it is not under ordinary circumstances necessary so much as to allude to it—the duty of training the soldier so that he shall be a protection and not a menace to his peaceful fellow-citizens, and above all to the women and children of the Nation. Unless this duty is well performed, the Army becomes a mere dangerous mob; and if conduct such as that of the murderers in question is not, where possible, punished, and, where this is not possible, unless the chance of its repetition is guarded against in the most thoroughgoing fashion, it would be better that the entire Army should be disbanded. It is vital for the Army to be imbued with the spirit which will make every man in it, and, above all, the officers and non-commissioned officers, feel it a matter of highest obligation to discover and punish, and not to shield, the criminal in uniform.

Yet some of the non-commissioned officers and many of the men of the three companies in question have banded together in a conspiracy to protect the assassins and would-be assassins who have

disgraced their uniform by the conduct above related. Many of these non-commissioned officers and men must have known, and all of them may have known, circumstances which would have led to the conviction of those engaged in the murderous assault. They have stolidly and as one man broken their oaths of enlistment and refused to help discover the criminals.

By my direction every effort was made to persuade those innocent of murder among them to separate themselves from the guilty by helping bring the criminals to justice. They were warned that if they did not take advantage of the offer they would all be discharged from the service and forbidden again to enter the employ of the Government. They refused to profit by the warning. I accordingly had them discharged. If any organization of troops in the service, white or black, is guilty of similar conduct in the future I shall follow precisely the same course. Under no circumstances will I consent to keep in the service bodies of men whom the circumstances show to be a menace to the country. Incidentally I may add that the soldiers of longest service and highest position who suffered because of the order, so far from being those who deserve most sympathy, deserve least, for they are the very men upon whom we should be able especially to rely to prevent mutiny and murder.

People have spoken as if this discharge from the service was a punishment. I deny emphatically that such is the case, because as punishment it is utterly

inadequate. The punishment meet for mutineers and murderers such as those guilty of the Brownsville assault is death; and a punishment only less severe ought to be meted out to those who have aided and abetted mutiny and murder and treason by refusing to help in their detection. I would that it were possible for me to have punished the guilty men. I regret most keenly that I have not been able to do so.

Be it remembered always that these men were all in the service of the United States under contracts of enlistment, which by their terms and by statute were terminable by my direction as Commander-in-Chief of the Army. It was my clear duty to terminate those contracts when the public interest demanded it; and it would have been a betrayal of the public interest on my part not to terminate the contracts which were keeping in the service of the United States a body of mutineers and murderers.

Any assertion that these men were dealt with harshly because they were colored men is utterly without foundation. Officers or enlisted men, white men or colored men, who were guilty of such conduct, would have been treated in precisely the same way; for there can be nothing more important than for the United States Army, in all its membership, to understand that its arms can not be turned with impunity against the peace and order of the civil community.

There are plenty of precedents for the action taken. I call your attention to the memoranda

herewith submitted from the Military Secretary's office of the War Department, and a memorandum from the Military Secretary enclosing a piece by ex-Corporal Hesse, now chief of division of the Military Secretary's office, together with a letter from District Attorney James Wilkinson of New Orleans. The district attorney's letter recites several cases in which white United States soldiers, being arrested for crime, were tried, and every soldier and employee of the regiment, or in the fort at which the soldier was stationed, volunteered all they knew, both before and at the trial, so as to secure justice. In one case the soldier was acquitted. In another case the soldier was convicted of murder, the conviction resulting from the fact that every soldier, from the commanding officer to the humblest private, united in securing all the evidence in his power about the crime. In other cases, for less offence, soldiers were convicted purely because their comrades in arms, in a spirit of fine loyalty to the honor of the service, at once told the whole story of the troubles and declined to identify themselves with the criminals.

During the Civil War numerous precedents for the action taken by me occurred in the shape of the summary discharge of regiments or companies because of misconduct on the part of some or all of their members. The Sixtieth Ohio was summarily discharged, on the ground that the regiment was disorganized, mutinous, and worthless. The Eleventh New York was discharged by reason of

general demoralization and numerous desertions. Three companies of the Fifth Missouri Cavalry and one company of the Fourth Missouri Cavalry were mustered out of the service of the United States without trial by court-martial by reason of mutinous conduct and disaffection *of the majority of the members of these companies* (an almost exact parallel to my action). Another Missouri regiment was mustered out of service because it was in a state bordering closely on mutiny. Other examples, including New Jersey, Maryland, and other organizations, are given in the enclosed papers.

I call your particular attention to the special field order of Brigadier-General U. S. Grant, issued from the headquarters of the Thirteenth Army Corps on November 16, 1862, in reference to the Twentieth Illinois. Members of this regiment had broken into a store and taken goods to the value of some $1,240, and the rest of the regiment, including especially two officers, failed, in the words of General Grant, to "exercise their authority to ferret out the men guilty of the offences." General Grant accordingly mustered out of the service of the United States the two officers in question, and assessed the sum of $1,240 against the said regiment as a whole, officers and men to be assessed pro rata on their pay. In its essence this action is precisely similar to that I have taken; although the offence was of course trivial compared to the offence with which I had to deal.

Ex-Corporal Hesse recites what occurred in a United States regular regiment in the spring of 1860. (Corporal Hesse subsequently, when the regiment was surrendered to the Confederates by General Twiggs, saved the regimental colors by wrapping them about his body, under his clothing, and brought them North in safety, receiving a medal of honor for his action.) It appears that certain members of the regiment lynched a barkeeper who had killed one of the soldiers. Being unable to discover the culprits, Colonel Robert E. Lee, then in command of the Department of Texas, ordered the company to be disbanded and the members transferred to other companies and discharged at the end of their enlistment, without honor. Owing to the outbreak of the Civil War, and the consequent loss of records and confusion, it is not possible to say what finally became of this case.

When General Lee was in command of the Army of Northern Virginia, as will appear from the enclosed clipping from the Charlotte "Observer," he issued an order in October, 1864, disbanding a certain battalion for cowardly conduct, stating at the time his regret that there were some officers and men belonging to the organization who, although not deserving it, were obliged to share in the common disgrace because the good of the service demanded it.

In addition to the discharges of organizations, which are of course infrequent, there are continual cases of the discharge of individual enlisted men

without honor and without trial by court-martial. The official record shows that during the fiscal year ending June 30, last, such discharges were issued by the War Department without trial by court-martial in the cases of 352 enlisted men of the Regular Army, 35 of them being on account of "having become disqualified for service through own misconduct." Moreover, in addition to the discharges without honor ordered by the War Department, there were a considerable number of discharges without honor issued by subordinate military authorities under paragraph 148 of the Army Regulations, "where the service has not been honest and faithful—that is, where the service does not warrant reenlistment."

So much for the military side of the case. But I wish to say something additional, from the standpoint of the race question. In my message at the opening of the Congress I discussed the matter of lynching. In it I gave utterance to the abhorrence which all decent citizens should feel for the deeds of the men (in almost all cases white men) who take part in lynchings, and at the same time I condemned, as all decent men of any color should condemn, the action of those colored men who actively or passively shield the colored criminal from the law. In the case of these companies we had to deal with men who in the first place were guilty of what is practically the worst possible form of lynching—for a lynching is in its essence lawless and murderous vengeance taken by an armed mob for real

or fancied wrongs—and who in the second place covered up the crime of lynching by standing with a vicious solidarity to protect the criminals.

It is of the utmost importance to all our people that we shall deal with each man on his merits as a man, and not deal with him merely as a member of a given race; that we shall judge each man by his conduct and not his color. This is important for the white man, and it is far more important for the colored man. More evil and sinister counsel never was given to any people than that given to colored men by those advisers, whether black or white, who, by apology and condonation, encourage conduct such as that of the three companies in question. If the colored men elect to stand by criminals of their own race because they are of their own race, they assuredly lay up for themselves the most dreadful day of reckoning. Every far-sighted friend of the colored race in its efforts to strive onward and upward, should teach first, as the most important lesson, alike to the white man and the black, the duty of treating the individual man strictly on his worth as he shows it. Any conduct by colored people which tends to substitute for this rule the rule of standing by and shielding an evil-doer because he is a member of their race, means the inevitable degradation of the colored race. It may and probably does mean damage to the white race, but it means ruin to the black race.

Throughout my term of service in the Presidency

I have acted on the principle thus advocated. In the North as in the South I have appointed colored men of high character to office, utterly disregarding the protests of those who would have kept them out of office because they were colored men. So far as was in my power, I have sought to secure for the colored people all their rights under the law. I have done all I could to secure them equal school training when young, equal opportunity to earn their livelihood and achieve their happiness when old. I have striven to break up peonage; I have upheld the hands of those who, like Judge Jones and Judge Speer, have warred against this peonage, because I would hold myself unfit to be President if I did not feel the same revolt at wrong done a colored man as I feel at wrong done a white man. I have condemned in unstinted terms the crime of lynching perpetrated by white men, and I should take instant advantage of any opportunity whereby I could bring to justice a mob of lynchers. In precisely the same spirit I have now acted with reference to these colored men who have been guilty of a black and dastardly crime. In one policy, as in the other, I do not claim as a favor, but I challenge as a right, the support of every citizen of this country, whatever his color, provided only he has in him the spirit of genuine and farsighted patriotism.

The White House, Washington,
December 22, 1906

To the People of the United States:

There is an appalling famine in China. Throughout a district covering over forty thousand square miles and supporting a population of fifteen millions, the crops have been destroyed by floods and millions of people are on the verge of starvation, thousands of dwellings have been destroyed and their inmates are without homes. An urgent appeal has been made for the assistance of the United States.

Our people have often under similar conditions of distress in other countries responded generously to such appeals. Amid our abounding prosperity and in this holiday season of good-will to man assuredly we should do our part to aid the unfortunate and relieve the distressed among the people of China to whom we have been allied for so many years in friendship and kindness.

I shall ask Congress upon its next day of session for authority to use our transport vessels to carry flour and other food to the famine-stricken region.

I recommend that contributions for the purchase of such food and for other appropriate relief be sent to the American National Red Cross, which will take charge of the expenditures. Such contributions may be made either through the local Red Cross treasurers, or through the Department of State, or may be sent directly to Mr. Charles Hal-

lam Keep, Red Cross Treasurer, United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA AND THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 4, 1907

Mr. President; and Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a very real pleasure to greet you here in the White House. I should be very loath to accept the idea that at the White House men engaged especially in political life were the only guests. I feel that it is peculiarly the Nation's house, and that the Nation gains permanently very largely according to the quality of the work done by just such associations as this. There isn't any danger of the United States not making sufficient material progress. That we are certain to do. What is to be guarded against by our people, what our people have to guard against in themselves, is lest in the desire for material progress we may forget certain things of the soul and the mind, for the lack of which in a nation as in an individual no material progress can atone. It is a fine thing to have a body of scholars doing the work that you are doing. I hope to see more and more in our colleges and universities the work of productive scholarship; for instance, take in your own line, the work that can only be done by men and women trained in classical studies who, in addition to the book lore,

take part in such actual work of exploration and excavation as this society has taken part in, and which as a result develops here and there the man who leaves to the generations that come after him a work which represents a permanent acquisition to the people of learning and to the people who, without being able to claim to be of learning, yet as laymen appreciate learning in others and its results.

I have been very much interested recently in reading Victor Berard's work on the Phœnicians and the Odyssey; and this association, apart even from the actual work it does, directly accomplishes much more by stimulating, encouraging, and producing the kind of scholarship which will here and there produce the work of a Victor Berard in our country. I greet you and congratulate you on behalf of the United States for the work you are doing for the United States.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 12, 1907

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

The Governor of the State of California and individuals and communities in southern California have made urgent appeals to me to take steps to save the lands and settlements in the sink or depression known as the "Imperial Valley" or "Salton Sink" region from the threatened destruction by the overflow of the Colorado River. The situation appears so serious that I now refer the matter to the

Congress for its consideration, together with my recommendations upon the subject.

Briefly stated, the conditions are these: The Imperial Valley, so called, in San Diego County, California, includes a large tract of country below the sea level. Southeast of the valley and considerably above its level is the Colorado River, which flows on a broad, slightly elevated plane upon which the river pursues a tortuous course, finally entering the Gulf of California. The lands in Imperial Valley are 200 feet or more below the level of the Colorado River. Down as far as the international border they are protected from inundation by low-lying hills. South of the boundary, in the Republic of Mexico, the hills cease abruptly and only the broad, low mud banks of the river protect the valley from being converted into an inland sea or lake. In order to get any water to this vast tract of fertile but desert land, or, on the other hand, to protect it from too much water, works of supply or of protection must be built in Mexico, even though they may tap the river in the United States. The United States can neither aid nor protect the interests of its citizens without going upon foreign soil.

Nature has through many centuries protected this great depression from overflow, but the restless river, constantly shifting, has annually threatened to break through the banks. Only a little human aid was needed to cause it to do so.

This condition has been long known, and through

many years schemes have been discussed either to convert the Salton Sink area into a lake or to irrigate the desert lands below sea level by making a cut in Mexico through the west bank of the Colorado River. It was also well understood that if the cut in the bank was not carefully guarded the river would quickly get beyond control. Finally, after many plans had been tentatively tried, the California Development Company, a New Jersey corporation, actively undertook the work. To ensure the safety of Imperial Valley the head of the canal on the river was first placed on United States territory near where the river was bounded by hills. The canal then swung southwest and west away from the river through Mexican territory to connect with natural depressions leading to the valley and back into the United States. The organizers of this company, in order to carry on the work in Mexico, caused to be created a subsidiary company in Mexico acting under the Mexican laws. Concessions were granted to this company by the Mexican Government and provision was made by the employment of a Mexican engineer to be designated by that Government in order to see that the work was properly carried out. The dangerous character of the attempt was thus recognized in this concession.

The California Development Company began its work by making representations to possible settlers of the great benefits to be derived by them by taking up this land. A large amount of money which

might have been used in needed works was expended in advertising and in promoting the enterprise. The claims were not only extravagant, but in many cases it appears that wilful misrepresentation was made. Many of the operations of this company and of its subsidiary organizations tended to mislead uninformed settlers. At first the success of the company was great, and it disposed of water rights to settlers at prices sufficiently large to obtain a fair revenue, either in cash or in securities of value.

The money thus obtained from settlers was not used in permanent development, but apparently disappeared, either in profits to the principal promoters or in the numerous subsidiary companies, which to a certain extent fed upon the parent company, or served to obscure its operations—such as a construction company, a company to promote settlement, and a company to handle the securities of the various other corporations. The history of these deals is so complicated that it would require careful research, extending through many months, to unravel the devious ways by which money and valuable securities have disappeared. In brief, it is sufficient to state that the valuable considerations which were received for water rights were obviously not used in providing necessary and permanent works for furnishing water to the settlers.

The whole enterprise and the spirit of those promoting it, as well as of the numerous smaller specu-

lators attracted to the subsidiary organizations, were of the most visionary character. Actual investments made have been small in proportion to estimates of wealth which appeared to be possible of realization.

The company entered upon its construction work with large plans but with inadequate capital. All of its structures for the control and distribution of water were temporary in character, being built of wood and of the smallest possible dimensions. Through the efforts thus made a large amount of land was brought under cultivation, and at one time it was reported that over 100,000 acres were being more or less irrigated.

The first heading of the canal of the California Development Company was in the United States immediately north of the Mexican border. It was found, however, after a time that the heading on the United States side of the line did not give a grade to furnish sufficient flow of water, and after headings had been opened at other points without successful results, a cut in the river bank was made four miles farther south, in Mexican territory. This gave the water a shorter and steeper course toward the valley. The making of this cut in a bank composed of light alluvial soil above a depression such as this, without controlling devices, was criminal negligence. The short cut on Mexican soil was made in the fall of 1904. It was gradually eroded by the passage of the water, and in the spring of 1905 the floods of the Colorado

River, entering the artificial cut, rapidly widened and deepened it until the entire flow of the river was turned westerly down the relatively steep slope in the Imperial Valley and thence into what is known as "Salton Sink" or "Salton Sea."

After the mischief became apparent strenuous efforts were made by the California Development Company to close the break, but these were without success. Finally the Southern Pacific Company, finding its tracks imperilled and traffic seriously interfered with, advanced money to the California Development Company, received as security a majority of the shares of the company, and thus took charge of the situation.

By means of the facilities available to the Southern Pacific Company the break in the west bank of the Colorado River was closed on November 4, 1906. A month later, however, a sudden rise in the river undermined the poorly constructed levees immediately south of the former break, and the water again resumed its course into the Salton Sea.

The results have been highly alarming, as it appears that if the water is not checked it will cut a very deep channel which, progressing upstream in a series of cataracts, will result in conditions such that the water can not be diverted by gravity into the canals already built in the Imperial Valley. If the break is not closed before the coming spring flood of 1907, it appears highly probable that all of the property values created in

this valley will be wiped out, including farms and towns, as well as the revenues derived by the Southern Pacific Company. Ultimately the channel will be deepened in the main stream itself up to and beyond Yuma, destroying the homes and farms there, the great railroad bridge, and the Government works at Laguna dam above Yuma.

It is difficult to estimate how many people have settled in the valley, the figures varying from 6,000 persons up to as high as 10,000. It is also difficult to ascertain how much money has been actually spent in real improvements. Town lots have been laid off, sold at auction, and several hundred buildings erected in the various small settlements scattered throughout the tract. The greater part of the public land has been taken up under the homestead or desert entry laws, and sufficient work has been done to secure title. Some crops have been raised and under favorable conditions the output in the near future will be large.

The actual amount of tangible wealth or securities possessed by the settlers to-day upon which money can be raised is believed to be very small. Nearly all individual property has been expended in securing water rights from the California Development Company, or from the other organizations handling the water supply and controlled by this company. It is evident that the people have slender resources to fall back upon and, in view of the threatened calamity, are practically helpless. The California Development Company is also un-

able to meet the exigency. The obligations assumed by the sale of water rights are so great that the property of the company is not adequate to meet these obligations. In other words, a gift of the visible property of this company and of its rights would not be a sufficient offset to the assumption of its liabilities. Nevertheless, the people in their desperation were reported as trying to issue and sell bonds secured by their property in order to give to the California Development Company a million dollars to assist in repairing the break.

The complications which have arisen from the transfer of the property and the involved relations of the California Development Company with its numerous subsidiary companies are such that the United States would not be justified in having any dealings with this company until the complications are removed and the Government has a full understanding of every phase of the situation.

It has been stated above that the California Development Company has not the financial strength to repair the break and to restore the bank of the Colorado River to such permanent condition that a similar occurrence could not happen. It is further understood that the Southern Pacific Company, having expended $2,000,000 or more for the protection of its interests, declines to furnish more money to the California Development Company to save the Imperial Valley, beyond controlling the present break in the river bank. The owners of the property in Imperial Valley both farmers and townspeople,

together with the Southern Pacific Company and the California Development Company, have combined to call upon the Government for a contribution to assist the California Development Company to the extent of erecting permanent works to secure protection for the future.

If the river is not put back and permanently maintained in its natural bed the progressive back cutting in the course of one or two years will extend upstream to Yuma, as before stated, and finally to the Laguna dam, now being built by the Government, thus wiping out millions of dollars' worth of property belonging to the Government and to citizens. Continuing further, it will deprive all the valley lands along the Colorado River of the possibility of obtaining necessary supply of water by gravity canals.

The great Yuma bridge will go out and approximately 700,000 acres of land as fertile as the Nile valley will be left in a desert condition. What this means may be understood when we remember that the entire producing area of southern California is about 250,000 acres. A most conservative estimate after full development must place the gross product from this land at not less than $100 per acre per year, every 10 acres of which will support a family when under intense cultivation. If the break in the Colorado is not permanently controlled the financial loss to the United States will be great. The entire irrigable area which will be either submerged or deprived of water in the Imperial Valley

and along the Colorado River is capable of adding to the permanent population of Arizona and California at least 350,000 people, and probably 500,000. Much of the land will be worth from $500 to $1,500 per acre to individual owners, or a total of from $350,000,000 to $700,000,000.

The point to be especially emphasized is that prompt action must be taken, if any; otherwise the conditions may become so extreme as to be impracticable of remedy. The history of past attempts to close the break in the river bank has shown that each time, through delay, the work has cost double or treble what it would have cost had prompt action been taken. It is probable now that with an expenditure of $2,000,000 the river can be restored to its former channel, and held there indefinitely, but if this action is not taken immediately several times this sum may be required to restore it, and possibly it can not be restored unless enormous sums are expended.

At the present moment there appears to be only one agency equal to the task of controlling the river—namely, the Southern Pacific Company, with its transportation facilities, its equipment, and control of the California Development Company and subsidiary companies. The need of railroad facilities and equipment and the international complications are such that the officers of the United States, even with unlimited funds, could not carry on the work with the celerity required. It is only the fact that the officers of the Southern Pacific Company,

acting also as officers of the California Development Company, have been able to apply all its resources for transportation, motive power, and the operation of the road that has made it possible to control the situation to the extent which they have already done. The Southern Pacific Company is now reported to be working strenuously to fill the break through which the Colorado River is flowing westward to the Salton Sea, and in repairing and building levees to keep out the high water due next March. This work will be more or less of a temporary character. Further construction is necessary, and all temporary works must be replaced by permanent structures. It is estimated that for this additional work $2,000,000 should be available. The question as to what sum, if any, should be paid to the Southern Pacific Company for work done since the break of November 4, 1906, is one for future consideration; for work done prior to that date no claim can be admitted.

But one practicable course is now open for consideration.

The Southern Pacific Company must continue its work to close the break and restore the river to its proper channel. The United States can then take charge, making the protective works permanent and providing for their maintenance.

It is not believed that a free gift of this money should be made, as by its investment the stability of property of great value will be secured and the increase in land values throughout the Imperial

Valley will be sufficient to justify the provision that this money should be returned to the Government.

The Reclamation Service should be authorized to take steps at once for the construction of an irrigation project, under the terms of the reclamation act, for the lands in the Imperial Valley and in the lower Colorado River Valley. The Service should be in position to proceed actively with the organization of the project and the construction of the works as soon as the conditions in regard to the protection of the valley against overflow will justify expenditures for this purpose.

To accomplish this, the United States should acquire the rights of the California Development Company and its subsidiary corporations in the United States and Mexico upon such reasonable terms as shall protect the interests of the Government and of the water users. The United States should obtain, by convention with Mexico, the right to carry water through that country, upon reasonable conditions.

Most of the land in the Imperial Valley has been entered under the terms of the desert-land act or the homestead laws, and title has not passed out of the United States.

The construction work required would be: The main canal some sixty miles in length from Laguna Dam into the Imperial Valley; the repair and partial reconstruction of the present distribution system in the valley and its extension to other lands, mainly public; diversion dams and distribution systems in

the Colorado River Valley; and provision for supplementing the natural flow of the river by means of such storage reservoirs as may be necessary. This would provide for the complete irrigation of 300,000 acres in the Imperial Valley and for 400,000 acres additional in the United States in the valley of the Colorado in Arizona and California.

The reclamation fund now available has been allotted for projects under construction, and the anticipated additions to the fund for the next few years will be needed to complete these projects. It will therefore be impossible to construct a reclamation project for the Imperial Valley with the funds now in hand, and it will be necessary for Congress to make specific appropriation for this work if it decides to undertake it.

Such appropriation would be expended for a project carried out under all the provisions of the reclamation act, requiring the return to the reclamation fund of the cost of construction and maintenance of the irrigation works, and there should be the further requirement that the cost of permanent protective works and their maintenance be repaid.

The interests of the Government in this matter are so great in the protection of its own property, particularly of the public lands, that Congress is justified in taking prompt and effective measures toward the relief of the present situation. No steps, however, should be taken except with a broad comprehension of the magnitude of the work

and with the belief that within the next ten years the works and development will be carried out to their full proportions.

The plan in general is to enter upon a broad, comprehensive scheme of development for all the irrigable land upon the Colorado River, with needed storage at the headwaters, so that none of the water of this great river which can be put to beneficial use will be allowed to go to waste. The Imperial Valley will never have a safe and adequate supply of water until the main canal extends from the Laguna dam. At each end this dam is connected with rock bluffs and provides a permanent heading founded on rock for the diversion of the water. Any works built below this point would not be safe from destruction by floods, and can not be depended upon for a permanent and reliable supply of water to the valley.

If Congress does not give authority and make adequate provision to take up this work in the way suggested it must be inferred that it acquiesces in the abandonment of the work at Laguna and of all future attempts to utilize the valuable public domain in this part of the country.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE SENATE, JANUARY 14, 1907

To the Senate:

In my message to the Senate treating of the dismissal, without honor, of certain named members of the three companies of the Twenty-fifth In-

fantry, I gave the reports of the officers upon which the dismissal was based. These reports were made in accordance with the custom in such cases; for it would, of course, be impossible to preserve discipline in the Army save by pursuing precisely the course that in this case was pursued. Inasmuch, however, as in the Senate question was raised as to the sufficiency of the evidence, I deemed it wise to send Major Blocksom and Assistant to the Attorney-General Purdy to Brownsville to make a thorough investigation on the ground in reference to the matter. I herewith transmit Secretary Taft's report, and the testimony taken under oath of the various witnesses examined in the course of the investigation. I also submit various exhibits, including maps of Brownsville and Fort Brown, photographs of various buildings, a letter from Judge Parks to his wife, together with a bandoleer, thirty-three empty shells, seven ball cartridges, and four clips picked up in the streets of Brownsville within a few hours after the shooting; three steel-jacketed bullets and some scraps of the casings of other bullets picked out of the houses into which they had been fired. A telegram from United States Commissioner R. B. Creagor, at Brownsville, announces that six additional bullets —like the others, from Springfield rifles—taken from buildings in Brownsville, with supporting affidavits, have since been sent to the Secretary of War.

It appears from the testimony that on the night

of the 13th of August, 1906, several crimes were committed by some person or persons in the city of Brownsville. Among these were the following:

(*a*) The murder of Frank Natus.

(*b*) The assault with intent to kill the lieutenant of police, Dominguez, whose horse was killed under him and whose arm was shot so severely that it had to be amputated.

(*c*) The assault with intent to kill Mr. and Mrs. Hale Odin, and their little boy, who were in the window of the Miller Hotel.

(*d*) The shooting into several private residences in the city of Brownsville, three of them containing women and children.

(*e*) The shooting at and slightly wounding of Preciado.

These crimes were certainly committed by somebody.

As to the motive for the commission of the crimes, it appears that trouble of a more or less serious kind had occurred between individual members of the companies and individual citizens of Brownsville, culminating in complaints which resulted in the soldiers being confined within the limits of the garrison on the evening of the day in question.

The evidence, as will be seen, shows beyond any possibility of honest question that some individuals among the colored troops whom I have dismissed committed the outrages mentioned; and that some or all of the other individuals whom I dismissed

had knowledge of the deed and shielded from the law those who committed it.

The only motive suggested as possibly influencing any one else was a desire to get rid of the colored troops, so strong that it impelled the citizens of Brownsville to shoot up their own houses, to kill one of their own number, to assault their own police, wounding the lieutenant, who had been an officer for twenty years—all with the purpose of discrediting the negro troops. The suggestion is on its face so ludicrously impossible that it is difficult to treat it as honestly made. This theory supposes that the assailants succeeded in obtaining the uniform of the negro soldiers; that before starting on their raid they got over the fence of the fort unchallenged, and without discovery by the negro troops opened fire on the town from within the fort; that they blacked their faces so that at least fourteen eye-witnesses mistook them for negroes; that they disguised their voices so that at least six witnesses who heard them speak mistook their voices as being those of negroes. They were not Mexicans, for they were heard by various witnesses to speak in English. The weapons they used were Springfield rifles; for the ammunition which they used was that of the Springfield rifle and no other, and could not have been used in any gun in Texas or any part of the Union or Mexico, or in any other part of the world, save only in the Springfield now used by the United States troops, including the negro troops in the garrison at Brownsville, and

by no other persons save these troops—a weapon which had only been in use by the United States troops for some four or five months prior to the shooting in question, and which is not in the possession of private citizens.

The cartridge used will go into one other rifle used in the United States, when specially chambered—the Winchester of the '95 model—but it will rarely if ever go off when in it; and, moreover, the bullets picked out of the buildings show the markings of the four so-called "lands" which come from being fired through the Springfield, but not through the Winchester, the latter showing six. The bullets which I herewith submit, which were found in the houses, could not therefore have been fired from a Winchester or any other sporting rifle, although the cartridges might have been put into a Winchester model of '95. The bullets might have been fired from a Krag, but the cartridges would not have gone into a Krag. Taking the shells and the bullets together, the proof is conclusive that the new Springfield rifle was the weapon used by the midnight assassins, and could not by any possibility have been any other rifle of any kind in the world. This of itself establishes the fact that the assailants were United States soldiers, and would be conclusive on this point if not one soldier had been seen or heard by any residents in Brownsville on the night in question, and if nothing were known save the finding of the shells, clips, and bullets.

Fourteen eye-witnesses, namely, Charles R.

Chase, Amado Martinez, Mrs. Kate Leahy, Palerno Preciado, Ygnacio Dominguez, Macedonio Ramirez, George W. Rendall, Jose Martinez, J. P. McDonald, F. H. A. Sanborn, Herbert Elkins, Hale Odin, Mrs. Hale Odin, and Judge Parks, testified that they saw the assailants or some of them at varying distances, and that they were negro troops, most of the witnesses giving their testimony in such shape that there is no possibility of their having been mistaken. Two other witnesses, Joseph Bodin and Genero Padron, saw some of the assailants and testified that they were soldiers (the only soldiers in the neighborhood being the colored troops). Four other witnesses, namely, S. C. Moore, Doctor Thorn, Charles S. Canada, and Charles A. Hammond, testified to hearing the shooting and hearing the voices of the men who were doing it, and that these voices were those of negroes, but did not actually see the men who were doing the shooting. About twenty-five other witnesses gave testimony corroborating to a greater or less degree the testimony of those who thus saw the shooters or heard them. The testimony of these eye and ear witnesses would establish beyond all possibility of contradiction the fact that the shooting was committed by ten or fifteen or more of the negro troops from the garrison, and this testimony of theirs would be amply sufficient in itself if not a cartridge or bullet had been found; exactly as the bullets and cartridges that were found would have established the guilt of the troops even had

not a single eye-witness seen them or other witness heard them.

The testimony of the witnesses and the position of the bullet holes show that fifteen or twenty of the negro troops gathered inside the fort, and that the first shots fired into the town were fired from within the fort; some of them at least from the upper galleries of the barracks.

The testimony further shows that the troops then came out over the walls, some of them perhaps going through the gate, and advanced a distance of three hundred yards or thereabout into the town. During their advance they shot into two hotels and some nine or ten other houses. Three of the private houses into which they fired contained women and children. They deliberately killed Frank Natus, the bartender, shooting him down from a distance of about 15 yards. They shot at a man and woman, Mr. and Mrs. Odin, and their little boy, as they stood in the window of the Miller Hotel, the bullet going less than two inches from the head of the woman. They shot down the lieutenant of police, who was on horseback, killing his horse and wounding him so that his arm had to be amputated. They attempted to kill the two policemen who were his companions, shooting one through the hat. They shot at least eight bullets into the Cowen house, putting out a lighted lamp on the dining-room table. Mrs. Cowen and her five children were in the house; they at once threw themselves prone on the floor and were not hit. They fired into the Starck house,

the bullets going through the mosquito bar of a bed from eighteen to twenty inches above where little children were sleeping. There was a light in the children's room.

The shooting took place near midnight. The panic caused by the utterly unexpected attack was great. The darkness, of course, increased the confusion. There is conflict of testimony on some of the minor points, but every essential point is established beyond possibility of honest question. The careful examination of Mr. Purdy, Assistant to the Attorney-General, resulted merely in strengthening the reports already made by the regular army authorities. The shooting, it appears, occupied about ten minutes, although it may have been some minutes more or less. It is out of the question that the fifteen or twenty men engaged in the assault could have gathered behind the wall of the fort, begun firing, some of them on the porches of the barracks, gone out into the town, fired in the neighborhood of two hundred shots in the town, and then returned—the total time occupied from the time of the first shot to the time of their return being somewhere in the neighborhood of ten minutes—without many of their comrades knowing what they had done. Indeed, the fuller details as established by the additional evidence taken since I last communicated with the Senate make it likely that there were very few, if any, of the soldiers dismissed who could have been ignorant of what occurred. It is wellnigh impossible that any of the non-commis-

sioned officers who were at the barracks should not have known what occurred.

The additional evidence thus taken renders it in my opinion impossible to question the conclusions upon which my order was based. I have gone most carefully over every issue of law and fact that has been raised. I am now satisfied that the effect of my order dismissing these men without honor was not to bar them from all civil employment under the Government, and therefore that the part of the order which consisted of a declaration to this effect was lacking in validity, and I have directed that such portion be revoked. As to the rest of the order, dismissing the individuals in question without honor, and declaring the effect of such discharge under the law and regulations to be a bar to their future reenlistment either in the Army or the Navy, there is no doubt of my constitutional and legal power. The order was within my discretion, under the Constitution and the laws, and can not be reviewed or reversed save by another Executive order. The facts did not merely warrant the action I took—they rendered such action imperative unless I was to prove false to my sworn duty.

If any one of the men discharged hereafter shows to my satisfaction that he is clear of guilt, or of shielding the guilty, I will take what action is warranted; but the circumstances I have above detailed most certainly put upon any such man the burden of thus clearing himself.

AT THE BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE ARLINGTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, JANUARY 16, 1907

Mr. Chairman; Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a peculiar pleasure to me to greet you here this evening on behalf of the National Government; and in greeting all of you let me say how particularly pleased I am that we should have the Governors of the great States of Virginia and Maryland with us this evening. Every public official who has a proper sense of the obligations of his oath of office, whatever party he may belong to, once that he is in office must feel that he is the servant of all the people. That is true of all public officials, but perhaps it is in a special sense true of the Secretary of State of the Union, for our party lines stop at the water's edge. The minute that we get beyond the limits of our own country we are, all of us, American and nothing else. It is in the fullest recognition of that spirit that Secretary Root acts and has always acted.

In speaking to you this evening I need say but little beyond stating to you that what Mr. Root has already said to you has my full and unqualified endorsement. In the few words that I have to say, I shall dwell purely on three policies which Mr. Root has developed that are completely non-partisan, completely in the interest of the

Nation as a whole. I intend to say just a few words to you on the question of our relations to Santo Domingo, upon our consular service, and upon the effort to secure better trade relations with South and Central America and the Orient.

First, as to our relations with the Dominican Republic. The United States holds and must hold a peculiar position in the Western Hemisphere. This position must never be one of oppression of or aggression toward her weaker neighbors; it must be one of helpfulness toward them; it must be an attitude of helping them to stand on their own feet. Under Mr. Root's guidance we are now endeavoring to secure by treaty with Santo Domingo an arrangement designed to make it absolutely unnecessary for this country ever to think of intervention in Santo Domingo; because it is an effort to prevent the possibility of the occurrence of conditions there which would necessitate such intervention. Two years ago things in the island got into such a shape that we became satisfied that certain European Powers, if we did not take some step to better conditions, would themselves take possession of certain ports in the island. We had to act to prevent action by others. Since then we have been striving to develop some scheme by which Santo Domingo could secure a financial prosperity and stability that would enable her to pay the *just* debts that she owed to outsiders, while at the same time being free from any possibility of aggression by

outsiders or by ourselves. I will not go into the details of the present arrangement—an arrangement as yet in part but tentative—but the salient features are that we are trying to negotiate a treaty by which we shall loan to Santo Domingo certain men to collect the customs revenues, forty-five per cent to be turned over to the government of the island for its own expenses, the remainder to be applied in accordance with the agreement entered into between the Republic and her creditors for the settlement of her debts. Meanwhile, for two years, the island has been going on under a tentative agreement to the same effect, and how well it has worked is proved by this fact alone: Santo Domingo has received but forty-five per cent of her revenues, yet that forty-five per cent, as collected by the officials whom we have sent down there, has given her a larger revenue than she has ever had before even when she nominally got all of it. Meanwhile the rest of the money collected is being accumulated, and already forms a very substantial nucleus for the payment of the entire debt; and if this arrangement can be, in whatever shape, perpetuated, the chance of disorder is lessened (because one great object of revolutions in Santo Domingo has been to get possession of the custom-houses, and at present that possession is denied), while the chance of foreign interference has vanished, and we are saved from the disagreeable possibility of having to intervene in the island. I think that those three objects are worth accomplishing, and if Mr. Root

has his way, or any reasonable portion of his way, they will be accomplished.

Second, as to the consular service. I wish now to express my deep sense of obligation to this gathering for the way in which its members in time past have worked to secure the putting of the consular service of the United States upon a proper basis of non-partisanship and business efficiency. You recommended the passage of a law to secure these ends by Congress. There has been some little question as to whether such a law would be constitutional, because it limits the power of appointment, its opponents expressing the most ardent desire that my constitutional powers should not be infringed upon —a solicitude, gentlemen, to which I am totally unaccustomed. It was advanced that it was impossible to limit the President's power as I had recommended that it should be limited. Without discussing the constitutional question raised, I may say that as Congress did not limit my appointing power, Secretary Root did, and we adopted regulations which in effect put into force the measure as you recommended that it should be enacted into law, providing for a system of promotion so that the higher grades should be filled only by promotion of those who prove themselves worthy, and providing for a system of rigid tests of the fitness of those entering the service who are required to enter it in the lower grades. I am glad to say that during the period of about a year since we have been applying these methods we have appointed men

from all sections of the country and of all varieties of political belief, and that the higher positions have been filled, when vacancies have occurred, only by the promotion of those most fit, most competent to fill them. I believe that a very great improvement has been worked in the consular service. I want to say here, however, that I do not believe in restricting the power of removal. In your private businesses each one of you knows that you will often find that some man becomes unsatisfactory, and that it will be an advantage to get rid of him; but you would not want to try him in a court. As you know, in all branches of the service, civil and military, I keep and shall continue to keep a wide door of exit for the unfit—discussion as to whether the door shall be closed or not being of a purely academic character, because I alone have power to close it.

Now, gentlemen, I am not prepared to speak as to whether or not it would transgress the requirements of the Constitution to enact into law such a system as that you advocate, which system has been put in force by Executive regulation in the consular service. If so, I very much wish that the Congress would at least pass a resolution expressing approval of the action of the Administration in establishing this system of regulation. That would largely accomplish our object of putting the system on a permanent basis.

Finally, gentlemen, I wish to speak of the effort which we are now making to extend and strengthen our commercial relations with South America and

the Orient by the passage of laws designed to secure swift and adequate communication by steam with South and Central America, Asia, and Australia. I must frankly admit that I never fully realized the importance of this movement, that I never took a very great interest in it, until after Mr. Root came back from his momentous South American trip last summer, and after I had listened to what he had to say as to the humiliation it was to us nationally and the loss to us materially to have our merchants, our residents, in South America in the position of finding that normally they had to communicate with the northern half of their own hemisphere by going to Europe. Mr. Root's trip to South America was designed especially to give proof of, and at the same time to strengthen, the bonds of friendly interest that knit the republics of the Western Hemisphere together. He found that there was a general feeling down there among the people themselves, and among Americans there resident, that in addition to political friendliness, we needed commercial intimacy, and that it was quite impossible to get such commercial intimacy without a far better system of communication between North and South America. The proposed measure will be of benefit to all sections of our country, and that is one reason why it is so eminently fitting that an organization like this, representing East and West, North and South, the Pacific and the Atlantic, the interior as much as the seacoast, should take the interest it does in this question. For, of course, it is not only the seaboard

cities that are interested in lines of ships to South America, it is the people who send what is in the ships, and they live in the interior just as much as on the seacoast.

A bill has been prepared almost exactly in line with Secretary Root's Kansas City speech, and with the recommendations contained in the reports of the Postmaster-General and the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. It is not an experimental bill. It is modeled almost exactly on the recent Cunard contract with the British Government. It covers communication with South America and with the Orient. In South America the chief aim is to provide better American lines to the commercial countries of South America, better lines than the present foreign lines of steamships that go there. At the present day the only big ships carrying the American flag which those republics see are our warships. I want them to see some peace ships as well. I want the republics of South America to be convinced not only of our political friendship, but of our trade friendship also. This bill is an absolute necessity if we are to meet foreign competition. American shipmasters are at a disadvantage in competition with those of other countries, because we demand better treatment in the shape of wages, food, and accommodations for our seamen. We can not afford to do otherwise, and therefore we must meet foreign competition in some other way than at the expense of the seamen on our ships. This bill provides for sixteen-knot ships. In the world's foreign trade at present

there are 196 ocean steamships of sixteen knots or more, and of those fully 150 now draw subsidies, postal, admiralty, or both, from foreign governments. Again, we need shipyards in this country as well as battleships. They must be kept fairly well employed on large projects of construction or they can not be thoroughly efficient. The British "Dreadnought" was built at a speed three times as great as we can show here in building similar ships, because they have shipyards that are kept fully employed, and they have therefore an advantage in proficiency that we can not have under present conditions. This bill would for some years supply just the incentive that is needed in that direction. Besides the considerations of trade involved in this bill, do not forget that there are involved certain other things. The Monroe Doctrine is involved, and, gentlemen, there is not in all the world a doctrine advanced by any civilized power which is more emphatically in the interest of the peace of the world than the Monroe Doctrine. The Monroe Doctrine is, of course, essentially one that has reference to South and Central America. This bill devotes annually a little over $2,000,000 to building twenty fast steamers for the South American lines. In the next place, our interests in the Pacific are properly cared for under this bill, for we devote nearly $1,800,000 to sixteen steamers which are to traverse the Pacific Ocean, to take in our Pacific possessions, Hawaii and the Philippines, and the trade with the great countries of Asia and with the great English-

speaking commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand. The bill is well balanced geographically. On the Atlantic, fourteen steamers; on the Pacific, taking in the trade of the Pacific with South America, with Asia and Australia, twenty-two steamers. That is as it should be. The Pacific is a little larger than the Atlantic; and, anyhow, all good Americans are good Westerners. During the century that is now opening the development of the Pacific and of the lands around it will be the great phenomenon in the development of the human race. Not only is America, and, I am happy to say now, South America as well as North America, certain as a whole to enjoy a phenomenal development like that which our country has shown and will continue to show; but we shall also see a similar development in Australia; while Asia's growth is no less certain. Surely our people will not be content to lag behind others in the peaceful and friendly contest to see which nation can best do its full share of the commercial work of the Pacific.

The bill does another thing. It provides for a naval reserve, such a reserve as we need for our navy. It is a matter for honest pride to every American that we now have a navy respectable in size and a good deal more than respectable in the character of the ships and the character of the men aboard them. Our aim must be to provide a naval reserve from which we can in the event of war draw a certain number of men already trained to their work. A modern battleship is one of the most deli-

cate and complicated of all bits of mechanism, and a raw man aboard it is worse than useless. You can not train a man to be of any use aboard a battleship after war has once begun. In the event of war the usefulness of our ships will depend mainly upon the quality of the men already aboard them and upon the number, which under no circumstances can be more than a small number, of men who can be put aboard them, able at once to do as good work as those already aboard. Remember, gentlemen, that the prime use of the United States Navy is to avert war. The United States Navy is the cheapest insurance Uncle Sam has. It is the surest guaranty against our ever being drawn into war; and the guaranty is effective just in proportion as the Navy is efficient.

In our foreign policy our aim must be to treat with scrupulous fairness and justice every foreign power, European or Asiatic, large or small; to treat every foreign power upon the basis of asking nothing from any one of them that we do not gladly do in return. The attitude that we are willing to have them take toward us we have a right to expect that they shall not object to our taking toward them; but no other. Let us treat every power with justice, every power with courtesy. Courtesy is not an expensive commodity, but is a mighty valuable one, and I trust that not merely our public men but our publicists and our private men who address public meetings will remember that while it is purely our own affair as to the standard of manners we

observe in dealing with one another, this is not so when we deal with outsiders. It behooves us all invariably to use a tone of courtesy and consideration in dealing with any foreign nation. That is one side of it, but there is another. Let us not give any other nation any cause for offence; and, on the other hand, keep our navy at such a pitch of efficiency as to make it a strong provocative of good manners in other nations.

So, gentlemen, I earnestly hope that your meeting here in the National capital will be of immediate good along all three of the lines that I have mentioned, and especially that we shall see as one of its results the entering of this Nation on the policy of securing an adequate representation of fast steamship lines from this country, both from the Pacific and Atlantic ports, to South and Central America, to Asia, and to Australia.

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON,
January 16, 1907

To the HON. HILARY A. HERBERT, chairman, CHIEF JUSTICE SETH SHEPHERD, GENERAL MARCUS J. WRIGHT, JUDGE CHARLES B. HOWRY, MR. WILLIAM A. GORDON, MR. THOMAS NELSON PAGE, PRESIDENT EDWIN ALDERMAN, MR. JOSEPH WILMER, and others of the Committee of Arrangement for the Celebration of the Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of General Robert E. Lee.

Gentlemen:

I regret that it is not in my power to be with you

at your celebration. I join with you in honoring the life and career of that great soldier and high-minded citizen whose fame is now a matter of pride to all our countrymen. Terrible though the destruction of the Civil War was, awful though it was that such a conflict should occur between brothers, it is yet a matter for gratitude on the part of all Americans that this, alone among contests of like magnitude, should have left to both sides as a priceless heritage the memory of the mighty men and the glorious deeds that the iron days brought forth. The courage and steadfast endurance, the lofty fealty to the right as it was given to each man to see the right, whether he wore the gray or whether he wore the blue, now make the memories of the valiant feats, alike of those who served under Grant and of those who served under Lee, precious to all good Americans. General Lee has left us the memory, not merely of his extraordinary skill as a general, his dauntless courage and high leadership in campaign and battle, but also of that serene greatness of soul characteristic of those who most readily recognize the obligations of civic duty. Once the war was over he instantly undertook the task of healing and binding up the wounds of his countrymen, in the true spirit of those who feel malice toward none and charity toward all; in that spirit which from the throes of the Civil War brought forth the real and indissoluble Union of to-day. It was eminently fitting that this great man, this war-worn veteran of a mighty struggle,

who, at its close, simply and quietly undertook his duty as a plain, every-day citizen, bent only upon helping his people in the paths of peace and tranquillity, should turn his attention toward educational work; toward bringing up in fit fashion the younger generation, the sons of those who had proved their faith by their endeavor in the heroic days.

There is no need to dwell on General Lee's record as a soldier. The son of Light Horse Harry Lee of the Revolution, he came naturally by his aptitude for arms and command. His campaigns put him in the foremost rank of the great captains of all time. But his signal valor and address in war are no more remarkable than the spirit in which he turned to the work of peace once the war was over. The circumstances were such that most men, even of high character, felt bitter and vindictive or depressed and spiritless, but General Lee's heroic temper was not warped nor his great soul cast down. He stood that hardest of all strains, the strain of bearing himself well through the gray evening of failure; and therefore out of what seemed failure he helped to build the wonderful and mighty triumph of our national life, in which all his countrymen, North and South, share. Immediately after the close of hostilities he announced, with a clear-sightedness which at that time few indeed of any section possessed, that the interests of the Southern States were the same as those of the United States; that the prosperity of the South would rise or fall

with the welfare of the whole country; and that the duty of its citizens appeared too plain to admit of doubt. He urged that all should unite in honest effort to obliterate the effects of war and restore the blessings of peace; that they should remain in the country, strive for harmony and good feeling, and devote their abilities to the interests of their people and the healing of dissensions. To every one who applied to him this was the advice he gave. Although absolutely without means, he refused all offers of pecuniary aid, and all positions of emolument, although many such, at a high salary, were offered him. He declined to go abroad, saying that he sought only "a place to earn honest bread while engaged in some useful work." This statement brought him the offer of the presidency of Washington College, a little institution in Lexington, Va., which had grown out of a modest foundation known as Liberty Hall Academy. Washington had endowed this academy with one hundred shares of stock that had been given to him by the State of Virginia, which he had accepted only on condition that he might with them endow some educational institution. To the institution which Washington helped to found in such a spirit, Lee, in the same fine spirit, gave his services. He accepted the position of president at a salary of $1,500 a year, in order, as he stated, that he might do some good to the youth of the South. He applied himself to his new work with the same singleness of mind which he had shown in leading the Army of Northern

Virginia. All the time by word and deed he was striving for the restoration of real peace, of real harmony, never uttering a word of bitterness nor allowing a word of bitterness uttered in his presence to go unchecked. From the close of the war to the time of his death all his great powers were devoted to two objects: to the reconciliation of all his countrymen with one another, and to fitting the youth of the South for the duties of a lofty and broad-minded citizenship.

Such is the career that you gather to honor; and I hope that you will take advantage of the one hundredth anniversary of General Lee's birth by appealing to all our people, in every section of this country, to commemorate his life and deeds by the establishment, at some great representative educational institution of the South, of a permanent memorial, that will serve the youth of the coming years, as he, in the closing years of his life, served those who so sorely needed what he so freely gave.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

TO DELEGATION OF FORT FISHER VETERANS, AT THE WHITE HOUSE, JANUARY 18, 1907

Mr. Sherman:

It gives me genuine pleasure to greet this organization. Many different organizations of our countrymen are received here at the White House; but, after all, while they all have the right to come, the right is most complete in the case of those to whom

we owe it that we have a National Government at all—you veterans of the Civil War. I am pleased to learn how well you were received by the men who wore the gray. To-morrow night a letter of mine will be read on the occasion of the one hundredth anniversary of the birthday of Lee; and it is just such action as that of your organization in fraternizing with the organization of ex-Confederate soldiers by whom you were received, which accentuates the truth of what I have said in that letter; that this war, the great war for the Union, alone among contests of like magnitude in modern times, has left us the right to be proud, not only of the Union (which by your deeds has become in very truth a union throughout the length and breadth of this land), but of the courage and steadfast devotion to the right as each man saw the right alike of the men who wore the blue and of the men who wore the gray.

I want to bear testimony to the fact that wherever I speak to an audience of veterans of the Civil War I speak to an audience composed, not only of good citizens in their several localities, but of men who have been consistently striving to show in their deeds their belief in the words of Abraham Lincoln, by conducting themselves "with malice toward none and with charity toward all."

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, JANUARY 23, 1907

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I call your attention to the great desirability of enacting legislation to help American shipping and American trade by encouraging the building and running of lines of large and swift steamers to South America and the Orient.

The urgent need of our country's making an effort to do something like its share of carrying trade on the ocean has been called to our attention in striking fashion by the experience of Secretary Root on his recent South American tour. The result of these experiences he has set forth in his address before the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress at Kansas City, Mo., on November 20 last —an address so important that it deserves the careful study of all public men.

The facts set forth by Mr. Root are striking, and they can not but arrest the attention of our people. The great continent to the south of us, which should be knit to us by the closest commercial ties, is hardly in direct commercial communication with us at all, its commercial relations being almost exclusively with Europe. Between all the principal South American ports and Europe lines of swift and commodious steamers, subsidized by their home governments, ply regularly. There is no such line of steamers between these ports and the United States. In consequence, our shipping in South

American ports is almost a negligible quantity; for instance, in the year ending June 30, 1905, there entered the port of Rio de Janeiro over three thousand steamers and sailing vessels from Europe, but from the United States no steamers and only seven sailing vessels, two of which were in distress. One prime reason for this state of things is the fact that those who now do business on the sea do business in a world not of natural competition but of subsidized competition. State aid to steamship lines is as much a part of the commercial system of today as State employment of consuls to promote business. Our commercial competitors in Europe pay in the aggregate some twenty-five millions a year to their steamship lines—Great Britain paying nearly seven millions. Japan pays between three and four millions. By the proposed legislation the United States will still pay relatively less than any one of our competitors pays. Three years ago the Trans-Mississippi Congress formally set forth as axiomatic the statement that every ship is a missionary of trade, that steamship lines work for their own countries just as railroad lines work for their terminal points, and that it is as absurd for the United States to depend upon foreign ships to distribute its products as it would be for a department store to depend upon wagons of a competing house to deliver its goods. This statement is the literal truth.

Moreover, it must be remembered that American ships do not have to contend merely against the sub-

sidization of their foreign competitors. The higher wages and the greater cost of maintenance of American officers and crews make it almost impossible for our people who do business on the ocean to compete on equal terms with foreign ships unless they are protected somewhat as their fellow-countrymen who do business on land are protected. We can not as a country afford to have the wages and the manner of life of our seamen cut down; and the only alternative, if we are to have seamen at all, is to offset the expense by giving some advantage to the ship itself.

The proposed law which has been introduced in Congress is in no sense experimental. It is based on the best and most successful precedents, as, for instance, on the recent Cunard contract with the British Government. As far as South America is concerned, its aim is to provide from the Atlantic and Pacific Coasts better American lines to the great ports of South America than the present European lines. The South American republics now see only our warships. Under this bill our trade friendship will be made evident to them. The bill proposes to build large-sized steamers of sixteen-knot speed. There are nearly two hundred such steamships already in the world's foreign trade, and over three-fourths of them now draw subsidies—postal or admiralty or both. The bill will encourage our shipyards, which are almost as necessary to the national defence as battleships, and the efficiency of which depends in large measure upon their steady

employment in large construction. The proposed bill is of importance to our Navy because it gives a considerable fleet of auxiliary steamships, such as is now almost wholly lacking, and also provides for an effective naval reserve.

The bill provides for fourteen steamships, subsidized to the extent of over a million and a half, from the Atlantic Coast, all to run to South American ports. It provides on the Pacific Coast for twenty-two steamers, subsidized to the extent of two millions and a quarter, some of these to run to South America, most of them to Manila, Australia, and Asia. Be it remembered that while the ships will be owned on the coasts, the cargoes will largely be supplied by the interior, and that the bill will benefit the Mississippi Valley as much as it benefits the seaboard.

I have laid stress upon the benefit to be expected from our trade with South America. The lines to the Orient are also of vital importance. The commercial possibilities of the Pacific are unlimited, and for national reasons it is imperative that we should have direct and adequate communication by American lines with Hawaii and the Philippines. The existence of our present steamship lines on the Pacific is seriously threatened by the foreign subsidized lines. Our communications with the markets of Asia and with our own possessions in the Philippines, no less than our communications with Australia, should depend not upon foreign, but upon our own, steamships. The Southwest and the North-

west should alike be served by these lines, and if this is done they will also give to the Mississippi Valley throughout its entire length the advantage of all transcontinental railways running to the Pacific Coast. To fail to establish adequate lines on the Pacific is equivalent to proclaiming to the world that we have neither the ability nor the disposition to contend for our rightful share of the commerce of the Orient; nor yet to protect our interests in the Philippines. It would surely be discreditable for us to surrender to our commercial rivals the great commerce of the Orient, the great commerce we should have with South America, and even our own communications with Hawaii and the Philippines.

I earnestly hope for the enactment of some law like the bill in question.

THE ANCIENT IRISH SAGAS*

Next to developing original writers in its own time, the most fortunate thing, from the literary standpoint, which can befall any people is to have revealed to it some new treasure-house of literature. This treasure-house may be stored with the writings of another people in the present, or else with the writings of a buried past. But a few generations ago, in that innocent age when Blackstone could speak of the "Goths, Huns, Franks, and

*Included in this volume because, although not an address or a State paper, it was written by Mr. Roosevelt while President. It was published in "The Century" for January, 1907. Copyright, 1906, by The Century Co. All rights reserved.

Vandals"—incongruous gathering—as "Celtic" tribes, the long-vanished literatures of the ancestors of the present European nations, the epics, the sagas, the stories in verse or prose, were hardly known to, or regarded by, their educated and cultivated descendants. Gradually, and chiefly in the nineteenth century, these forgotten literatures, or fragments of them, were one by one recovered. They are various in merit and interest, in antiquity and extent—"Beowulf," the Norse sagas, the "Kalevala," the "Nibelungenlied," the "Song of Roland," the Arthurian cycle of romances. In some there is but one great poem; in some all the poems or stories are of one type; in others, as in the case of the Norse sagas, a wide range of history, myth, and personal biography is covered. In our own day there has at last come about a popular revival of interest in the wealth of poems and tales to be found in the ancient Celtic, and especially in the ancient Erse, manuscripts—the whole forming a body of prose and poetry of great and wellnigh unique interest from every standpoint, which in some respects can be matched only by the Norse sagas, and which has some striking beauties the like of which are not to be found even in these Norse sagas.

For many decades German, French, Irish, and English students have worked over the ancient Celtic texts, and recently many of the more striking and more beautiful stories have been reproduced or paraphrased in popular form by writers like

Lady Gregory and Miss Hull, Lady Gregory showing in her prose something of the charm which her countrywoman, Emily Lawless, shows in her poems "With the Wild Geese." It is greatly to be regretted that America should have done so little either in the way of original study and research in connection with the early Celtic literature, or in the way of popularizing and familiarizing that literature, and it is much to be desired that, wherever possible, chairs of Celtic should be established in our leading universities. Moreover, in addition to the scholar's work which is especially designed for students, there must ultimately be done the additional work which puts the results of the scholarship at the disposal of the average layman. This has largely been done for the Norse sagas. William Morris has translated the "Heimskringla" into language which, while not exactly English, can nevertheless be understood without difficulty—which is more than can be said for his translation of "Beowulf,"—and which has a real, though affectedly archaic, beauty. Dasent has translated the "Younger Edda," the "Njala Saga," and the "Saga of Gisli the Outlaw." It is pleasant for Americans to feel that it was Longfellow who, in his "Saga of King Olaf," rendered one of the most striking of the old Norse tales into a great poem.

It is difficult to speak with anything like exactness of the relative ages of these primitive literatures. Doubtless in each case the earliest manuscripts that have come down to us are themselves based upon

far earlier ones, which have been destroyed, and doubtless, when they were first written down, the tales had themselves been recited, and during the course of countless recitations had been changed and added to and built upon, for a period of centuries. Sometimes, as in the "Song of Roland," we know at least in bare outline the historical incident which for some reason impressed the popular imagination until around it there grew up a great epic, of which the facts have been twisted completely out of shape. In other instances, as in the "Nibelungenlied," a tale, adaptable in its outlines to many different peoples, was adapted to the geography of a particular people, and to what that people at least thought was history; thus the Rhine becomes the great river of the "Nibelungenlied," and in the second part of the epic the revenge of Krimhild becomes connected with dim memories of Attila's vast and evanescent empire. The "Song of Roland" and the "Nibelungenlied" were much later than the earliest English, Norse, and Irish poems. Very roughly, it may perhaps be said that, in the earliest forms at which we can guess, the Irish sagas were produced, or at least were in healthy life, at about the time when "Beowulf" was a live saga, and two or three centuries or thereabout before the early Norse sagas took a shape which we would recognize as virtually akin to that they now have.

These Celtic sagas are conveniently, though somewhat artificially, arranged in cycles. In some ways

the most interesting of these is the Cuchulain cycle, although until very recently it was far less known than the Ossianic cycle—the cycle which tells of the deeds of Finn and the Fianna. The poems which tell of the mighty feats of Cuchulain, and of the heroes whose life-threads were interwoven with his, date back to a purely pagan Ireland—an Ireland cut off from all connection with the splendid and slowly dying civilization of Rome, an Ireland in which still obtained ancient customs that had elsewhere vanished even from the memory of man.

Thus the heroes of the Cuchulain sagas still fought in chariots driven each by a charioteer who was also the stanch friend and retainer of the hero. Now, at one time war chariots had held the first place in the armies of all the powerful empires in the lands adjoining the Mediterranean and stretching eastward beyond the Tigris. Strange African tribes had used them north and south of the Atlas Mountains. When the mighty, conquering kings of Egypt made their forays into Syria, and there encountered the Hittite hosts, the decisive feature in each battle was the shock between the hundreds of chariots arrayed on each side. The tyranny of Sisera rested on his nine hundred chariots of iron. The Homeric heroes were "tamers of horses," which were not ridden in battle, but driven in the war chariots. That mysterions people, the Etruscans, of whose race and speech we know nothing, originally fought in chariots. But in the period of Greek and Roman splendor the war chariot had already

passed away. It had seemingly never been characteristic of the wild Teuton tribes; but among the western Celts it lingered long. Cæsar encountered it among the hostile tribes when he made his famous raid into Britain; and in Ireland it lasted later still.

The customs of the heroes and people of the Erin of Cuchulain's time were as archaic as the chariots in which they rode to battle. The sagas contain a wealth of material for the historian. They show us a land where the men were herdsmen, tillers of the soil, hunters, bards, seers, but, above all, warriors. Erin was a world to herself. Her people at times encountered the peoples of Britain or of Continental Europe, whether in trade or in piracy; but her chief interest, her overwhelming interest, lay in what went on within her own borders. There was a high king of shadowy power, whose sway was vaguely recognized as extending over the island, but whose practical supremacy was challenged on every hand by whatever king or under-king felt the fierce whim seize him. There were chiefs and serfs; there were halls and fortresses; there were huge herds of horses and cattle and sheep and swine. The kings and queens, the great lords and their wives, the chiefs and the famous fighting men, wore garments crimson and blue and green and saffron, plain or checkered, and plaid and striped. They had rings and clasps and torques of gold and silver, urns and mugs and troughs and vessels of iron and silver. They played chess by the fires in their great halls, and they

feasted and drank and quarreled within them, and the women had sun-parlors of their own.

Among the most striking of the tales are those of the "Fate of the Sons of Usnach," telling of Deirdrè's life and love and her lamentation for her slain lover; of the "Wooing of Emer" by Cuchulain; of the "Feast of Bricriu"; and of the famous Cattle-Spoil of Cooley, the most famous romance of ancient Ireland, the story of the great raid for the Dun Bull of Cooley. But there are many others of almost equal interest; such as the story of MacDatho's pig, with its Gargantuan carouse of the quarrelsome champions; and the tale of the seige of Howth.

In these tales, which in so many points are necessarily like the similar tales that have come down from the immemorial past of the peoples of kindred race, there are also striking peculiarities that hedge them apart. The tales are found in many versions, which for the most part have been enlarged by pedantic scribes of after-time, who often made them prolix and tedious, and added grotesque and fantastic exaggerations of their own to the barbaric exaggerations already in them, doing much what Saxo Grammaticus did for the Scandinavian tales. They might have been woven into some great epic, or at least have taken far more definite and connected shape, if the history of Ireland had developed along lines similar to those of the other nations of west Europe. But her history was broken by terrible national tragedies and calamities. To the scourge

of the vikings succeeded the Anglo-Norman conquest, with all its ruinous effects on the growth of the national life. The early poems of the Erse bards could not develop as those other early lays developed which afterward became the romances of Arthur and Roland and Siegfried. They remain primitive, as "Beowulf" is primitive, as, in less measure, "Gisli the Outlaw" is primitive.

The heroes are much like those of the early folk of kindred stock everywhere. They are huge, splendid barbarians, sometimes yellow-haired, sometimes black or brown-haired, and their chief title to glory is found in their feats of bodily prowess. Among the feats often enumerated or referred to are the ability to leap like a salmon, to run like a stag, to hurl great rocks incredible distances, to toss the wheel, and, like the Norse berserkers, when possessed with the fury of battle, to grow demoniac with fearsome rage. This last feat was especially valued, and was recognized as the "heroes' fury." As with most primitive peoples, the power to shout loudly was much prized, and had a distinct place of respect, under the title of "mad roar," in any list of a given hero's exhibitions of strength or agility, just as Stentor's voice was regarded by his comrades as a valuable military asset. So, when the slaughter begins in Etzel's hall, the writer of the Nibelung lay dwells with admiration on the vast strength of Diederick, as shown by the way in which his voice rang like a bison horn, resounding within and without the walls. Many of the feasts chron-

icled of the early Erse heroes are now wholly unintelligible to us; we can not even be sure what they were, still less why they should have been admired.

Among the heroes stood the men of wisdom, as wisdom was in the early world, a vulpine wisdom of craft and cunning and treachery and double-dealing. Druids, warlocks, sorcerers, magicians, witches appear, now as friends, now as unfriends, of the men of might. Fiercely the heroes fought and wide they wandered; yet their fights and their wanderings were not very different from those that we read about in many other primitive tales. There is the usual incredible variety of incidents and character, and, together with the variety, an endless repetition. But these Erse tales differ markedly from the early Norse and Teutonic stories in more than one particular. A vein of the supernatural and a vein of the romantic run through them and relieve their grimness and harshness in a way very different from anything to be found in the Teutonic. Of course the supernatural element often takes as grim a form in early Irish as in early Norse or German; the Goddess with red eyebrows who on stricken fields wooed the Erse heroes from life did not differ essentially from the Valkyrie; and there were land and water demons in Ireland as terrible as those against which Beowulf warred. But, in addition, there is in the Irish tales an unearthliness free from all that is monstrous and horrible; and their unearthly creatures could become in after-time the

fairies of the moonlight and the greenwood, so different from the trolls and gnomes and misshapen giants bequeathed to later generations by the Norse mythology.

Still more striking is the difference between the women in the Irish sagas and those, for instance, of the Norse sagas. Their heirs of the spirit are the Arthurian heroines, and the heroines of the romances of the middle ages. In the "Song of Roland"—rather curiously, considering that it is the first great piece of French literature—woman plays absolutely no part at all; there is not a female figure which is more than a name, or which can be placed beside Roland and Oliver, Archbishop Turpin and the traitor Ganelon, and Charlemagne, the mighty emperor of the "barbe fleurie." The heroines of the early Norse and German stories are splendid and terrible, fit to be the mothers of a mighty race, as stern and relentless as their lovers and husbands. But it would be hard indeed to find among them a heroine who would appeal to our modern ideas as does Emer, the beloved of Cuchulain, or Deirdrè, the sweetheart of the fated son of Usnach. Emer and Deirdrè have the charm, the power of inspiring and returning romantic love, that belonged to the ladies whose lords were the knights of the Round Table, though of course this does not mean that they lacked some very archaic tastes and attributes.

Emer, the daughter of Forgall the Wily, who was wooed by Cuchulain, had the "six gifts of a girl"—beauty, and a soft voice, and sweet speech,

and wisdom, and needle-work, and chastity. In their wooing the hero and heroine spoke to one another in riddles, those delights of the childhood of peoples. She set him journeys to go and feats to perform, which he did in the manner of latter knights-errant. After long courting and many hardships, he took Emer to wife, and she was true to him and loved him and gloried in him and watched over him until the day he went out to meet his death. All this was in a spirit which we would find natural in a heroine of modern or of mediæval times—a spirit which it would be hard to match either among the civilizations of antiquity, or in early barbarisms other than the Erse.

So it was with Deirdrè, the beautiful girl who forsook her betrothed, the Over-King of Ulster, for the love of Naisi, and fled with him and his two brothers across the waters to Scotland. At last they returned to Ireland, and there Deirdrè's lover and his two brothers were slain by the treachery of the king whose guests they were. Many versions of the Songs of Deirdrè have come down to us, of her farewell to Alba, and her lament over her slain lover; for during centuries this tragedy of Deirdrè, together with the tragical fate of the Children of Lir and the tragical fate of the Children of Tuirenn, were known as the "Three Sorrowful Tales of Erin." None has better retained its vitality down to the present day. Even to us, reading the songs in an alien age and tongue, they are very beautiful. Deirdrè sings wistfully of her

Scottish abiding-place, with its pleasant, cuckoo-haunted groves, and its cliffs, and the white sand on the beaches. She tells of her lover's single infidelity, when he became enamored of the daughter of a Scottish lord, and Deirdrè, broken-hearted, put off to sea in a boat, indifferent whether she should live or die; whereupon the two brothers of her lover swam after her, and brought her back, to find him very repentant and swearing a three-fold oath that never again would he prove false to her until he should go to the hosts of the dead. She dwells constantly on the unfailing tenderness of the three heroes; for her lover's two brothers cared for her as he did:

> Much hardship would I take,
> Along with the three heroes;
> I would endure without house, without fire,
> It is not I that would be gloomy.
>
> Their three shields and their spears
> Were often a bed for me.
> Put their three hard swords
> Over the grave, O young man!

For the most part, in her songs, Deirdrè dwells on the glories and beauties of the three warriors, the three dragons, the three champions of the Red Branch, the three that used to break every onrush, the three hawks, the three darlings of the women of Erin, the three heroes who were not good at homage. She sings of their splendor in the foray, of their nobleness as they returned to their home,

to bring fagots for the fire, to bear in an ox or a boar for the table; sweet though the pipes and flutes and horns were in the house of the king, sweeter yet was it to hearken to the songs sung by the sons of Usnach, for "like the sound of the wave was the voice of Naisi."

There were other Irish heroines of a more common barbarian type. Such was the famous warrior queen, Meave, tall and beautiful, with her white face and yellow hair, terrible in her battle chariot when she drove at full speed into the press of fighting men, and "fought over the ears of the horses." Her virtues were those of a warlike barbarian king, and she claimed the like large liberty in morals. Her husband was Ailill, the Connaught king, and, as Meave carefully explained to him in what the old Erse bards called a "bolster conversation," their marriage was literally a partnership wherein she demanded from her husband an exact equality of treatment according to her own views and on her own terms; the three essential qualities upon which she insisted being that he should be brave, generous, and completely devoid of jealousy!

Fair-haired Queen Meave was a myth, a goddess, and her memory changed and dwindled until at last she reappeared as Queen Mab of fairyland. But among the ancient Celts her likeness was the likeness of many a historic warrior queen. The descriptions given of her by the first writers or compilers of the famous romances of the foray

for the Dun Bull of Cooley almost exactly match the descriptions given by the Latin historian of the British Queen Boadicea, tall and terrible-faced, her long, yellow hair flowing to her hips, spear in hand, golden collar on neck, her brightly colored mantle fastened across her breast with a brooch.

Not only were some of Meave's deeds of a rather startling kind, but even Emer and Deirdrè at times showed traits that to a modern reader may seem out of place, in view of what has been said of them above. But we must remember the surroundings, and think of what even the real women of history were, throughout European lands, until a far later period. In the "Heimskringla" we read of Queen Sigrid, the wisest of women, who grew tired of the small kings who came to ask her hand, a request which she did not regard them as warranted to make either by position or extent of dominion. So one day when two kings had thus come to woo her, she lodged them in a separate wooden house, with all their company, and feasted them until they were all very drunk, and fell asleep; then in the middle of the night she had her men fall on them with fire and sword, burn those who stayed within the hall, and slay those who broke out. The incident is mentioned in the saga without the slightest condemnation; on the contrary, it evidently placed the queen on a higher social level than before, for, in concluding the account, the saga mentions that Sigrid said "that she would weary these small

kings of coming from other lands to woo her; so she was called Sigrid Haughty thereafter." Now, Sigrid was a historical character who lived many hundred years after the time of Emer and Deirdrè and Meave, and the simplicity with which her deed was chronicled at the time, and regarded afterward, should reconcile us to some of the feats recorded of those shadowy Erse predecessors of hers, who were separated from her by an interval of time as great as that which separates her from us.

The story of the "Feast of Bricriu of the Bitter Tongue" is one of the most interesting of the tales of the Cuchulain cycle. In all this cycle of tales, Bricriu appears as the cunning, malevolent mischief-maker, dreaded for his biting satire and his power of setting by the ears the boastful, truculent, reckless, and marvelously short-tempered heroes among whom he lived. He has points of resemblance to Thersites, to Sir Kay, of the Arthurian romances, and to Conan, of the Ossianic cycle of Celtic sagas. This story is based upon the custom of the "champion's portion," which at a feast was allotted to the bravest man. It was a custom which lasted far down into historic times, and was recognized in the Brehon laws, where a heavy fine was imposed upon any person who stole it from the one to whom it belonged. The story in its present form, like all of these stories, is doubtless somewhat changed from the story as it was originally recited among the pre-Christian Celts of Ireland,

but it still commemorates customs of the most primitive kind, many of them akin to those of all the races of Aryan tongue in their earlier days. The queens cause their maids to heat water for the warriors' baths when they return from war, and similarly made ready to greet their guests, as did the Homeric heroines. The feasts were Homeric feasts. The heroes boasted and sulked and fought as did the Greeks before Troy. At their feasts, when the pork and beef, the wheaten cakes and honey, had been eaten, and the beer, and sometimes the wine of Gaul, had been drunk in huge quantities, the heroes, vainglorious and quarrelsome, were always apt to fight. Thus in the three houses which together made up the palace of the high king at Emain Macha, it was necessary that the arms of the heroes should all be kept in one place, so that they could not attack one another at the feasts. These three houses of the palace were the Royal House, in which the high king himself had his bronzed and jeweled room; the Speckled House, where the swords, the shields, and the spears of the heroes were kept; and the House of the Red Branch, where not only the weapons, but the heads of the beaten enemies were stored; and it was in connection with this last gruesome house that the heroes in the train of the High King Conchubar took their name of the "Heroes of the Red Branch."

When Bricriu gave his feast, he prepared for it by building a spacious house even handsomer

than the House of the Red Branch; and it is described in great detail, as fashioned after "Tara's Mead Hall," and of great strength and magnificence; and it was stocked with quilts and blankets and beds and pillows, as well as with abundance of meat and drink. Then he invited the high king and all the nobles of Ulster to come to the feast. An amusing touch in the saga is the frank consternation of the heroes who were thus asked. They felt themselves helpless before the wiles of Bricriu, and at first refused outright to go, because they were sure that he would contrive to set them to fighting with one another; and they went at all only after they had taken hostage from Bricriu and had arranged that he should himself leave the feast-hall as soon as the feast was spread. But their precautions were in vain, and Bricriu had no trouble in bringing about a furious dispute among the three leading chiefs, Loigaire the Triumphant, Conall the Victorious, and Cuchulain. He promised to each the champion's portion, on condition that each should claim it. Nor did he rest here, but produced what the saga calls "the war of words of the women of Ulster," by persuading the three wives of the three heroes that each should tread first into the banquet hall. Each of the ladies, in whose minds he thus raised visions of social precedence, had walked away from the palace with half a hundred women in her train, when they all three met. The saga describes how they started to return to the hall together, walking evenly,

gracefully, and easily at first, and then with quicker steps, until, when they got near the house, they raised their robes "to the round of the leg" and ran at full speed. When they got to the hall the doors were shut, and, as they stood outside, each wife chanted her own perfections, but, above all, the valor and ferocious prowess of her husband, scolding one another as did Brunhild and Krimhild in the quarrel that led to Siegfried's death at the hands of Hagen. Each husband, as in duty bound, helped his wife into the hall, and the bickering which had already taken place about the champion's portion was renewed. At last it was settled that the three rivals should drive in their chariots to the home of Ailill and Meave, who should adjudge between them; and the judgment given, after testing their prowess in many ways, and especially in encounters with demons and goblins, was finally in favor of Cuchulain.

One of the striking parts of the tale is that in which the three champions, following one another, arrive at the palace of Meave. The daughter of Meave goes to the sun-parlor over the high porch of the hold, and from there she is told by the queen to describe in turn each chariot and the color of the horses and how the hero looks and how the chariot courses. The girl obeys, and describes in detail each chariot as it comes up, and the queen in each case recognizes the champion from the description and speaks words of savage praise of each in turn. Loigaire, a fair man, driving two

fiery dapple grays, in a wicker-work chariot with silver-mounted yoke, is chanted by the queen as:

"A fury of war, a fire of judgment,
A flame of vengeance; in mien a hero,
In face a champion, in heart a dragon;
The long knife of proud victories which will hew us to pieces,
The all-noble, red-handed Loigaire."

Conall is described as driving a roan and a bay, in a chariot with two bright wheels of bronze, he himself fair, in face white and red, his mantle blue and crimson, and Meave describes him as:

"A wolf among cattle; battle on battle,
Exploit on exploit, head upon head he heaps;"

and says that if he is excited to rage he will cut up her people

"As a trout on red sandstone is cut."

Then Cuchulain is described, driving at a gallop a dapple gray and a dark gray, in a chariot with iron wheels and a bright silver pole. The hero himself is a dark, melancholy man, the comeliest of the men of Erin, in a crimson tunic, with gold-hilted sword, a blood-red spear, and over his shoulders a crimson shield rimmed with silver and gold. Meave, on hearing the description, chants the hero as:

"An ocean in fury, a whale that rageth, a fragment of flame and fire;

"A bear majestic, a grandly moving billow,
A beast in maddening ire:
In the crash of glorious battle through the hostile foe he leaps,
His shout the fury of doom;
A terrible bear, he is death to the herd of cattle,
Feat upon feat, head upon head he heaps:
Laud ye the hearty one, he who is victor fully."

Bricriu lost his life as a sequel of the great raid for the Dun Bull of Cooley. This was undertaken by Queen Meave as the result of the "bolster conversation," the curtain quarrel, between her and Ailill as to which of the two, husband or wife, had the more treasures. To settle the dispute, they compared their respective treasures beginning with their wooden and iron vessels, going on with their rings and bracelets and brooches and fine clothes, and ending with their flocks of sheep, and herds of swine, horses, and cattle. The tally was even for both sides until they came to the cattle, when it appeared that Ailill had a huge, white-horned bull with which there was nothing of Meave's to compare. The chagrined queen learned from a herald that in Cooley there was a dun or brown bull which, it was asserted, was even larger and more formidable.

Meave announces that by fair means or foul the dun bull shall be hers, and she raises her hosts. A great war ensues, in which Cuchulain distinguishes himself above all others. All the heroes gather to the fight, and a special canto is devoted to the fate

of a very old man, Iliach, a chief of Ulster, who resolves to attack the foe and to avenge Ulster's honor on them. "Whether, then, I fall or come out of it, is all one," he said. The saga tells how his withered and wasted old horses, which fed on the shore by his little fort, were harnessed to the ancient chariot, which had long lost its cushions. Into it he got, mother-naked, with his sword and his pair of blunt, rusty spears, and great throwing-stones heaped at his feet; and thus he attacked the hosts of Meave and fought till his death. In the Cuchulain sagas the heroes frequently fight with stones; and the practice obtained until much later days, for in Olof's death battle with the ships of Hakon his men were cleared from the decks of the "Long Serpent" by dexterously hurled stones as well as by spears.

Partly by cunning, Meave gets the dun bull upon which she had set her heart. Then comes in a thoroughly Erse touch. It appears that the two bulls have lived many lives in different forms, and always in hostility to each other, since the days when their souls were the souls of two swineherds, who quarreled and fought to the death. Now the two great bulls renew their ancient fight. Bricriu is forced out to witness it, and is trampled to death by the beasts. At last the white-horned bull is slain, and the dun, raging and destroying, goes back to his home, where he, too, dies. And this, says the saga, in ending, is the tale of the Dun Bull of Cooley and the Driving of the

Cattle-Herd by Meave and Ailill, and their war with Ulster.

The Erse tales have suffered from many causes. Taken as a mass, they did not develop as the sagas and the epics of certain other nations developed; but they possess extraordinary variety and beauty, and in their mysticism, their devotion to and appreciation of natural beauty, their exaltation of the glorious courage of men and of the charm and devotion of women, in all the touches that tell of a long-vanished life, they possess a curious attraction of their own. They deserve the research which can be given only by the life-long effort of trained scholars; they should be studied for their poetry, as countless scholars have studied those early literatures; moreover, they should be studied as Victor Bérard has studied the "Odyssey," for reasons apart from their poetical worth; and finally they deserve to be translated and adapted so as to become a familiar household part of that literature which all the English-speaking people possess in common.

MESSAGE COMMUNICATED TO THE TWO HOUSES OF CONGRESS, FEBRUARY 13, 1907

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I call your attention to the urgent need of legislation affecting the different phases of the public-land situation in the United States. In the first place I wish to speak of the conservation of the mineral fuels belonging to the United States. In

my annual message of December 4, 1906, and special message of December 17, your attention was called to the importance of conserving the supplies of mineral fuels still belonging to the Government. I recommended to Congress the enactment of such legislation as would provide for title to and development of the surface land as separate and distinct from the right to the underlying mineral fuels in regions where these may occur, and the disposal of these mineral fuels under a leasing system on conditions which would inure to the benefit of the public as a whole. I again call the attention of Congress to the importance of enacting such legislation. I care little for the details; the prime need is that the system should be established, and that from henceforth the Nation should retain its title to its fuel resources and its right to supervise their development in the interest of the public as a whole. Such a leasing system as that proposed represents by no means an untried policy. In the Australian countries during the last fifteen years coal has been mined under a system of government leases, and on conditions so favorable for development that their coal and coke are to-day being sold on the Pacific Coast of both the American continents. In all the great coal-producing European countries, except Great Britain, coal is being mined under government leases. In Great Britain leases are granted almost entirely by the private landowners, but there, as in other countries, the surface culture and the mining operations are conducted inde-

pendently of each other. In Nova Scotia, British Columbia, India, and other British colonies a government leasing system has been adopted, and is working satisfactorily. In the United States, although conveyance of the mineral rights with the surface has been the common practice, the separate development of the two interests is increasing; and in the Eastern and Middle States a large part of the coal is being mined under a system of private leases. It is gratifying to note that in these States, as in foreign countries, these two great industries —agriculture and mining—are conducted within the same boundaries, and the country thus attains its highest dual development without conflict of interests. Indeed, the mining industry, and the factories using these fuels, create larger local markets for the products of the farm.

Mineral fuels, like the forests and navigable streams, should be treated as public utilities. This is generally recognized abroad. In some foreign countries practical control of a large portion of the fuel resources was allowed years ago to pass into private hands, but the existing governments are endeavoring to regain this control in order that the diminishing fuel supply may be safeguarded for the common good, instead of being disposed of for the benefit of the few—though the mistake of the preceding generation in disposing of these fuels for a nominal return can not always be corrected by the present generation, as the cost may be so enormous as to be prohibitory.

In our own Western States and Territories the scarcity of both water and forests has rendered necessary their preservation as public utilities; and the preservation of the forests for the purpose of conserving both the waters and the timber supply has come to be recognized as the wise and proper policy of the Federal Government.

The quantity of high-grade mineral fuels in the West is relatively much smaller than that of the forests, and the proper conservation of these fuels is a matter of far-reaching importance. This Government should not now repeat the mistakes of the past. Let us not do what the next generation can not undo. We have a right to the proper use of both the forests and the fuel during our lifetime, but we should not dispose of the birthright of our children. If this Government sells its remaining fuel lands they pass out of its future control. If it now leases them we retain control, and a future Congress will be at liberty to decide whether it will continue or change this policy. Meanwhile, the Government can inaugurate a system which will encourage the separate and independent development of the surface lands for agricultural purposes and the extraction of the mineral fuels in such manner as will best meet the needs of the people and best facilitate the development of manufacturing industries.

I am aware that objections to this system are being urged. It is claimed that so large a part of the coal in some of the Western States has already passed into the hands of certain large corporations

that parties endeavoring to operate under a lease system other coal deposits would be unable to compete with these corporations, and therefore that the fuel deposits still belonging to the Government should also be allowed to pass into private ownership, presumably into the hands of the same or other large corporations. It is also claimed that reservation of the fuel supplies still belonging to the Government would raise the price of coal in the West, and, as an argument in favor of this contention, it is claimed that the reservation of the natural forests is raising the price of lumber in the West. It should be remembered that the best and most accessible bodies of timber in the West passed into private holdings before the forest reserves were established; that while the price of timber has advanced in the West, it has advanced still more in the East, where there are no forest reserves; that supplies of timber are to-day being shipped from the West to the markets of the Mississippi Valley, and even to foreign countries; and that the probability of obtaining future supplies of both timber and mineral fuel in the West at reasonable prices will be much greater with a large portion of both the forests and the fuels under the control of the Government than if this control should pass to private parties. To secure cheapness of timber and fuel for the moment at the cost of ruin to our own children would surely be a suicidal policy.

It may be fairly claimed among the advantages of the leasing system that: (1) It will facilitate the

working, under favorable conditions, of coal deposits for local markets by miners without large capital, as no land-purchase money would be required and the small royalty charges would be paid out of the earnings; (2) it will facilitate larger operations, as the leases could be made sufficiently liberal in the matter of time, area, and other conditions to induce healthy competition and meet all real demands; and yet in all cases the general supervision of the Government could be such as to (3) prevent waste in the extraction and handling of these fuels; (4) the system can be operated in such manner as to prevent the evils of monopolistic control; (5) it will permit the Government to reserve from general use fuels especially suitable for metallurgical and other special industries; and (6) it will enable the Government to protect the public against unreasonable and discriminating charges for fuel supplies.

Already probably one-half of the total area of the high-grade coals in the West has passed under private control. Including both the lignite and the coal areas, these private holdings probably aggregate not less than 30,000,000 acres of coal fields. With the remainder of the lands containing mineral fuels reserved and leased by the Government, there will be ample opportunity to determine, in the near future, which of the two systems—private ownership or the leasing system with General Government supervision—will best protect the interests of the people and thus promote the permanent development of the West.

In planning such a leasing system by the Government, the question of revenue, beyond that necessary to cover the expenses of administration and exploration, need not be seriously considered. The spirit of generosity which the country as a whole has shown in connection with the disposal of its public lands and the use of the proceeds from the sale of these lands for the further development of the West through the Reclamation Service and in other ways, is of itself a sufficient guaranty that in the administration of both the coal reserves and the national forests this generous policy will be continued. It is safe to believe also that Federal supervision of both the coal lands and the forests will be reduced to a minimum, and that in the future even more than in the past this supervision will be limited to that necessary to carry out the policy of conserving these natural resources in such manner as will best promote the permanent interests of the people, and above all of the Western people, of the people in the neighborhood of the mines and the forests which we seek to preserve for the public use.

The necessity for care in the future management of these fuel supplies is further illustrated by the rapid rate at which the use of such fuels is increasing in the United States. The amount of coal used in this country during the last ten years is practically equal to that used during the preceding fifty years of its history, and during each decade of this period the coal used was practically equal to the sum of that used during all the preceding decades.

This remarkable development and the certain continuity of this prodigious growth compels us to recast all estimates as to the life of our "inexhaustible resources." We can foresee the time when the eastern industries will be much more largely taxed for supplying foreign markets. Then the West will also be largely engaged in varied manufacturing enterprises; and this will require the intelligent use of every ton of available fuel in that region. The grave importance of conserving the fuel supplies in the West still remaining under the control of the Government, with a view to the accomplishment of these important purposes, impels me again to bring this matter to the attention of Congress.

Let me repeat that what I seek at this time is that the system be begun. I know the difficulty of providing in minute detail by legislation for all the needs in advance. I have the heartiest sympathy with the desire of the people of the new States of the Rocky Mountain region for the rapid development of the lusty young commonwealths of which they are so proud. So far from hindering, I want to further that development. But surely it is to the peculiar interest of these States that the development shall take place in such way as to leave the children better off, and not worse off, than the fathers. Let us use, but not waste, the national resources. Let us show our confidence in the future by being willing to provide for the future. If we dispose of all the coal lands now, we can be well assured that twenty-five years hence the generation

then coming to manhood will regret our shortsightedness and lack of provision for the future. It would surely be greatly to the advantage of this country if some at least of the coal fields of the East, and especially of the anthracite fields, had been left under the control of the Government. Let us provide in the West against the recurrence of the conditions which we deplore in the East. At the outset the law would be administered in a spirit of the broadest liberality, with the least possible interference with the development of the coal fields. What is especially necessary is to establish the principle so that as conditions change there will be opportunity to meet the changing need in adequate fashion. Moreover, I can not too emphatically say that all laws which merely seek to prevent monopoly or the mishandling of the public by forbidding combination are certain to fail of their purpose. Our experience with the interstate commerce and anti-trust laws shows that what is needed is not prohibition of all combinations, but such supervision and control over combinations, and over corporations entering into them, as will prevent the evils while giving to the public the advantages of combination.

Let me also again urge that legislation be passed to provide for Government control of the public pasture lands of the West on the same general principles which now apply in the Government control of the forest reserves. The local control of the range should be in the hands of Western men fa-

miliar with stock raising, and there should be full local participation in the management of the range, for co-operation between the stockmen and the Government officers is absolutely essential. The grazing fee should be small and at first almost nominal. There is no need at present that the Government should get a net revenue from grazing on the public range, but only enough to pay for administration and improvement, and it may be wise to provide that any surplus shall go to the States and Territories in which the fees are collected. If a law for the control of the range should, as I request, be enacted, such control would not be taken hurriedly, but gradually, as grazing districts can be organized. The one prime essential in the policy of range control must be to protect the homesteader in his right to create a home for his family. The right of the homesteader, of the home maker, of the actual settler on the land, must always be paramount, and he must have whatever range privileges are necessary to his purpose. At present it is unlawful to fence the public domain. All fences unlawfully maintained will have to be taken down. Unless Congress takes action to legalize reasonable and necessary fencing through Government control of the range, there will be serious loss to stockmen through the West, and this loss will often fall hardest on the small man; for, in many cases, the stock business can not be conducted without fences. Yet it would be grossly improper to provide for the continuance of all the present illegal fencing; for,

while much of this fencing is needed, much of it also represents a fraud upon the public. What is needed is not to provide for the continuance of all fencing, whether beneficial or harmful, but a proper discrimination between the two classes—a discrimination to be exercised always with especial care for the interests of the homesteader and the small stockman. The interests of the man who has actually made his home or is actually seeking to make his home on the land, whether he owns cattle or owns sheep, are really identical with those of the homesteader. The opposition to the measure comes primarily from those who do not make their homes on the land, but who own wandering bands of sheep that are driven hither and thither to eat out the land and render it worthless for the real home maker; and also from the men who have already obtained control of great areas of the public land largely through the ownership or leasing of water at what might be called the "strategic points of the range," and who object to the proposed law for the very reason that it is in the interest of the actual homesteader and the small stockman, and because it will break the control that these few big men now have over the lands which they do not actually own. The proposed law is emphatically a law in the interest of popular rights. The present system in an immense number of cases renders it impossible for the small man to exist; and it works chiefly for the benefit of the very rich man whose interest it is to keep out home makers and preserve immense

stretches of the public domain for his own use, to the detriment of the development of the Commonwealth. Surely it is in accordance with the spirit of our Government to pass a law in the interest of the actual settler, instead of to leave undisturbed the present system in the interest of those who monopolize an improper proportion of the public domain, or of the others who are indifferent as to whether in the long run they destroy the worth of the public domain.

As in the case of the proposed law for controlling the disposition of the mineral fuels, our object should be to get the principle of the law established, leaving a necessary discretion to those who at the outset are to administer it, and then to perfect the law later, as actual experience may show the need.

Let me urge that Congress provide $500,000, in addition to the present estimates, to be immediately applied to the clearing of the arrears of business in the General Land Office, as regards the detection and prevention of fraud in disposing of applications for patents to the public lands.

I wish to express my utter and complete dissent from the statements that have been made as to there being but a minimum of fraud in the actual working of our present land laws. I am exceedingly anxious to protect the interests of bonâ fide settlers and to prevent hardship being inflicted upon them. But surely we are working in their interests when we try to prevent the land which should be re-

served for them and for those like them from being taken possession of for speculative purposes or obtained in any fraudulent fashion. The funds appropriated by Congress to protect public lands from illegal entry or unlawful appropriation have been utterly insufficient to keep pace with the vast amount of public-land business. For this reason the natural sympathy of the Administration with bonâ fide claimants and the proper desire to further their interests have led to the use of almost all of this appropriation, not for the detection and prevention of fraud, but for the purpose of hastening the routine hearing and office inspection of final proof. If sufficient money is not now granted to enable the Administration both to protect the interests of bonâ fide claimants and at the same time to hunt out the fraudulent ones, then the responsibility for the delays which will necessarily occur or for the fraud which will obtain can not rest upon the Administration. The great number of fraudulent cases which our lack of means forces us to leave undetected brings deep discredit on the public-land system of the country, and it does not seem to me that there can be any apology for the Government's failure to provide ample means for their detection and to insist upon the means being so used as to guarantee their detection, and this can only be done if an ample force of inspectors is furnished, so that each entry may be inspected upon the ground or adequate information obtained about it that will satisfy us that the land is being taken in accordance

with law. It is not true that any very long time will be needed for such inspection. With the amount provided for which I have asked, the arrears of the work will be brought up within a year, and thereafter the work can be kept up by a continually diminishing appropriation.

The present force of special agents is utterly insufficient to conduct the proper field examinations. But there have been here and there a limited number of such field examinations in which direct investigation by Government officials was added to the evidence furnished by claimants. Four specific examples of these field examinations are as follows (I omit the names of the places):

(a) Examination of desert-land entries during August, September, and October, 1906:

Agents assigned		11
Total days examination on the ground		494
Entries examined		1,159
Claims examined per day per agent		2.4
Unfavorably reported	per cent	41
Relinquished	do	5
Favorably reported	do	54

(b) Homestead entries examined during October and November, 1905:

Agents assigned		27
Total days examination on the ground		300
Entries examined		900
Claims per day per agent		3
Unfavorably reported	per cent	46
Relinquished	do	10
Favorably reported	do	44

(c) Homestead entries:

Entries examined		110
Unfavorably reported	per cent	63.7
Favorably reported	do	36.3

(During the past year 50 additional claims have been relinquished.)

Entries examined		107
Unfavorably reported	per cent	67.3
Canceled on relinquishment	do	10.2
Canceled for other causes	do	6.5
Favorably reported	do	16

Summarizing the results, it appears that in these four districts nearly 2,300 cases were examined and that in over half the law had not been complied with, the failure being in each case on some essential feature and in very many cases showing deliberate fraud. In six months ending December 31 last our present insufficient force of special agents secured indictments in 197 actions for fraud, 26 of which have been tried, resulting in 14 convictions and 12 acquittals. In the forest reserves, where we have been able to examine a great number of claims, in about one-third the law was not complied with.

In the Susanville and Sacramento, Cal., placer mining claims it was discovered that one man with fourteen associates had attempted to get possession of 250,000 acres, including much of the finest timber land in the region, by locating placer claims upon it. Three agents on this ground examined 25,000 acres of claims and reported unfavorably upon over 24,000 of them, with the result that up to date, because of this investigation, 36,000 acres were relinquished and restored to Governmental ownership while the investigation was still in progress, an amount considerably in excess of the amount actually investigated.

While the above cases, of course, show worse

results than would be shown by examinations made at random, they are nevertheless by no means unusual, save, perhaps, in the case of the placer-claims investigation. Surely such a showing renders it impossible to say that there is no fraud, and therefore no need of striving to detect and prevent fraud. On the contrary, there is urgent need for such effort in the interest not only of the honest observance of the law, but in the interest of honest and bonâ fide settlers. Without sufficient money it is impossible to execute the land laws in reasonably prompt and efficient fashion. The business of the Land Office, because of lack of appropriations, is far behind. To protect the public property no less than to relieve the land claimants, enough money should be given for the purposes I have outlined above, and the appropriation should be made immediately available. Unless such money is given then either honest claimants must suffer hardship or wrong-doers must be permitted to be the beneficiaries of their fraudulent and illegal acts. From the standpoint of the public interest failure to prevent fraud of this kind is peculiarly serious, because in so many cases the success of the fraudulent claimants means the prevention of the establishment of a home by some honest home seeker. The earnest wish of the Administration is to discontinue the advertisement of fraud in connection with the public-land system; but the only way to accomplish this is by putting a stop to the fraud itself.

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